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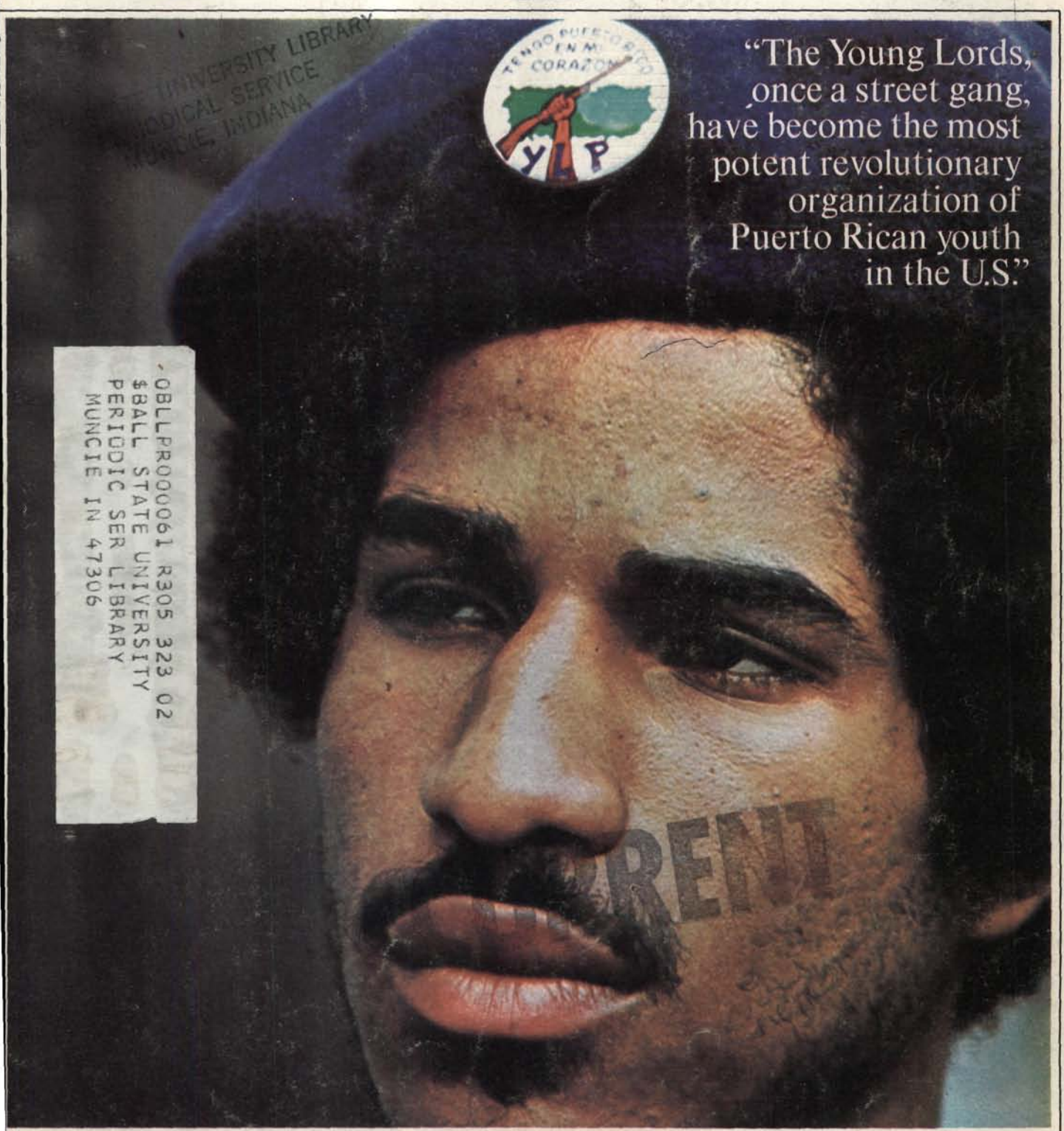
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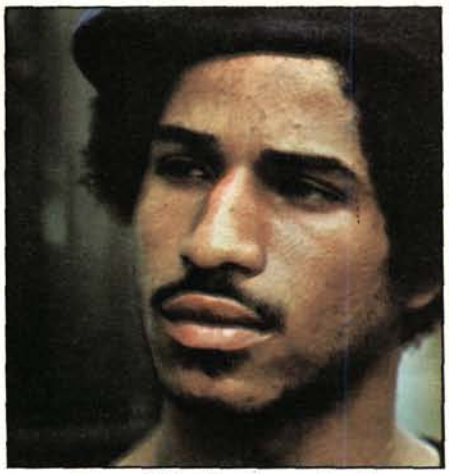

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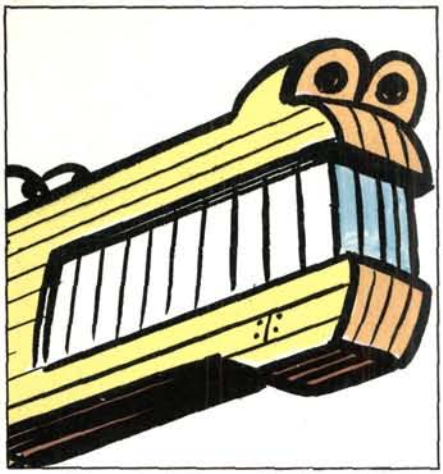

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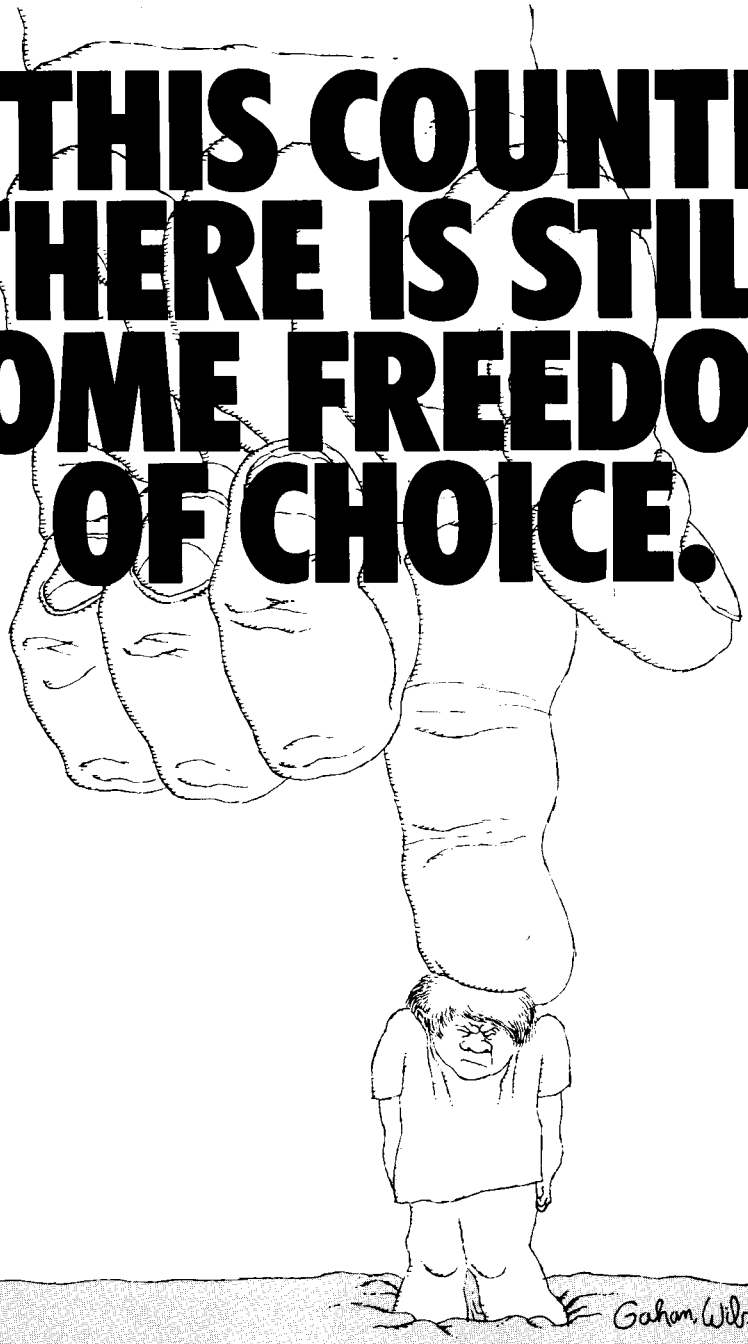

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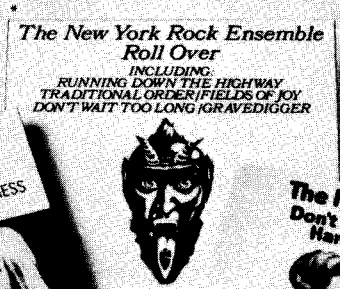

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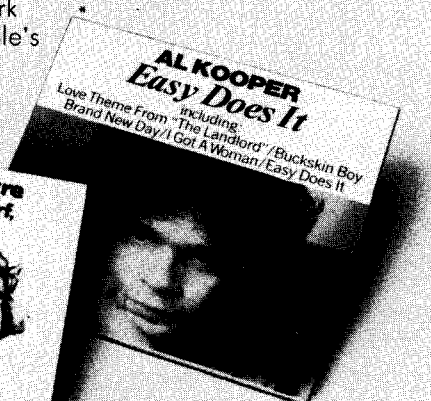

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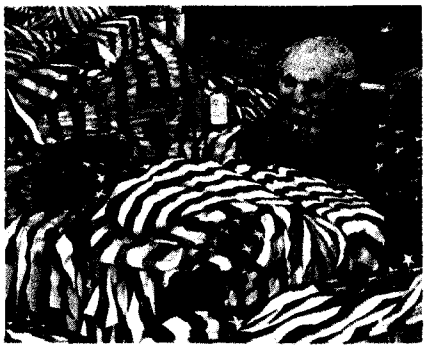

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Belfast

On July 23, 1970, business was proceeding normally in Britain's House of Commons: that is to say, most people were asleep; the rest were listening to a boring statement on the matter of the Common Market. Suddenly, out of the visitors gallery there rang a cry of "How do you like that, you bastards? Now you know what it's like in Belfast." Simultaneously, two CS canisters landed at the feet of the slumbering members. What followed was a comedy of Westminster ceremony and behavior. Labor parliamentarians, in the best traditions of social democracy, fled incontinently. Conservatives, more in tune with the exigencies of class warfare, threw themselves on the floor "to get under the rising tear smoke." Since no sitting of the House can be terminated without the proper mumbo-jumbo, the prostrate MPs were treated to the sight of the Sergeant at Arms, Rear Admiral Sir Gordon Lennox, screaming shrilly, "The mace, the mace . . . save the mace." This is not another noxious substance but a bejewelled implement which has to be raised before a sitting can be suspended. Finally a clerk managed to lift the mace and the chamber was cleared.

Two hours later the MPs were still unable to resume their debate. Six hundred minds with but a single thought—*suppose it had been a bomb*. The last person to be assassinated in the House of Commons was Spencer Percival, an obscure Prime Minister active in 1812, but there is no knowing . . . . Henceforth the members plan to prosecute bourgeois democracy under a suitable awning of plate glass and netting.

The gas-throwing comrade was an Irish laborer called Roche, age 26. He is now awaiting trial. There are indications that he was a member of a "Present from Bogside Committee." The gas canisters were bought from the British Army in Belfast by the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

Poor Roche will doubtless go down with a heavy sentence, but his brusque interruption of Commons proceedings highlights a number of truths about the situation in Northern Ireland. Until half the slums in Derry or Belfast are actually on fire, most members of Parliament in Westminster will remain content to deal with the problem of Ireland by earnestly wishing it would simply go away. To keep the peace in the province, the government has to maintain there a costly army of 14,000 men. If Ulster were as far away as, say, Aden or Malaya, these forces could, in cooperation with the local police, pursue a policy of really vigorous repression, and no one would care a jot. Once the disturbance was quashed—and with much eloquence about "handing over the reins of government"—the troops could retire and business continue as usual. But Ulster is part of the British Isles; there are a great many reporters and cameras around and thus the British government has to worry not only about its own interests but about the appearance of justice as well. Even so, until some madman throws gas at their feet and reminds them that all is not yet well, Westminster, with prattle about "orderly reforms" and "the return of sanity and good sense," is able to deceive itself that it has cooled off the crisis.

But for the Irish, too, the episode in the Commons represents a gesture of frustration as well as defiance. For two years the Catholics have marched, endured pogroms and seen their houses burned down. But the situation is no nearer a "solution." Bernadette Devlin is in jail; Ian Paisley is in the House of Commons; and a Conservative government, marginally more hostile to their interest, is in power in London. The power of the ruling bloc in Ulster has not been dented. A gas bomb or two in the Mother of Parliaments is a splendid gesture, but a gesture it remains.

by Alexander Cockburn

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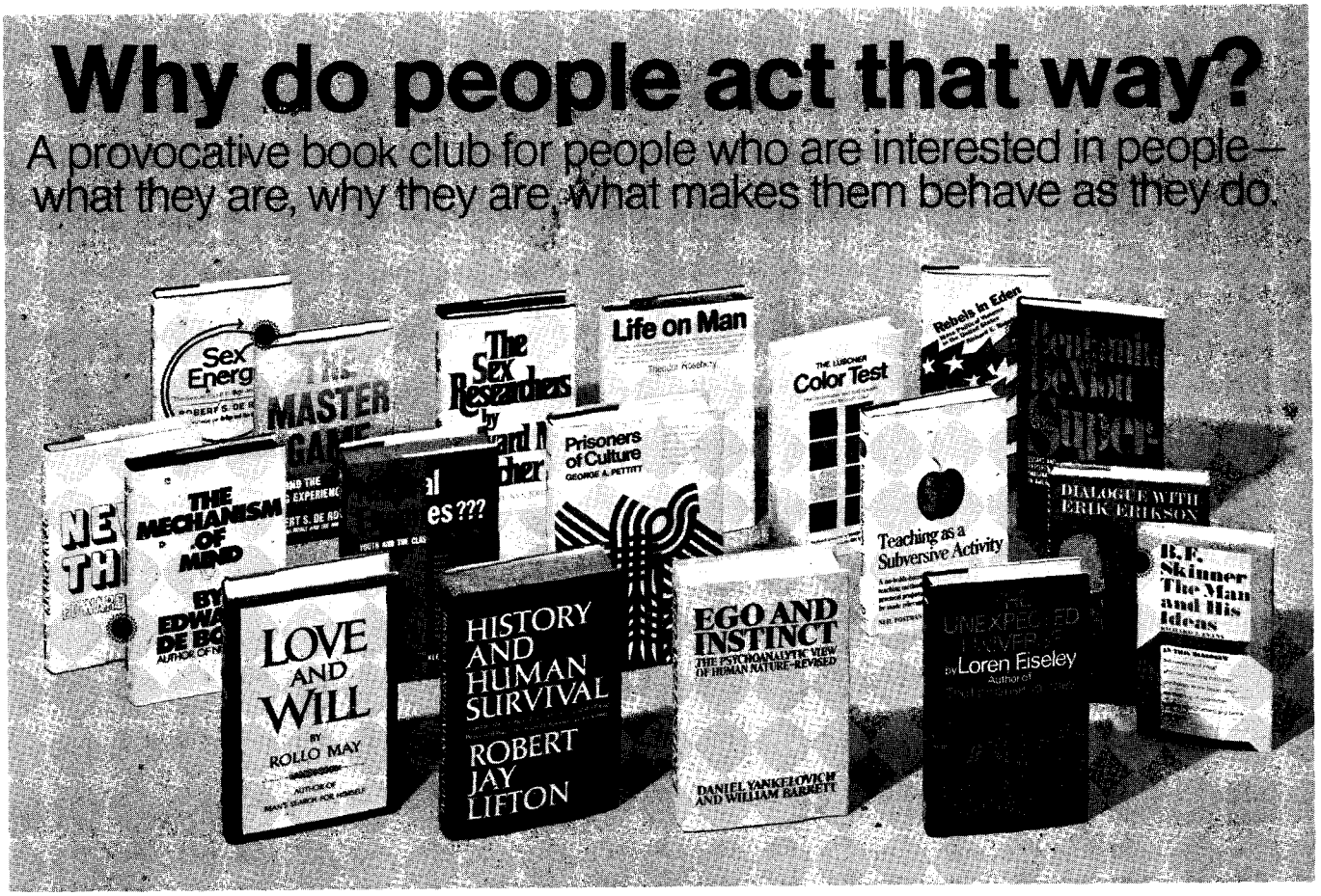

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MARX SAYS, APROPOS HISTORY, that "the tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living." Nowhere is this more true than in Ulster. In a province composed roughly of two-thirds Protestant and one-third Catholic, both sides cling to totems and memories which have long since become useless. Every July 12 the Protestants march to commemorate the Battle of the Boyne, fought in 1690, in which a Catholic army invading from the South was defeated. Every year, Protestant working men and women, festooned with British flags, proclaim their undying allegiance to a system that allows Ulster the highest unemployment and the lowest standard of living in the British Isles. Slum children are brought up to believe that they are superior to the Catholic children in the next slum who have neither the spiritual (and concrete) advantages of the Protestant faith nor the blessings of allegiance to the British crown—a crown which, for severely practical reasons, would be delighted to sell them all down the river.

In 1916 the Irish rose against the British in a rebellion that was swiftly crushed. In 1919 the rebellion continued and was ultimately successful: the British were brought to the treaty table and eventually granted partial independence to 26 of the 32 counties of Ireland.

That sentimentality which curiously possesses people when they consider Ireland has prevented general comprehension of what actually occurred. The main impetus behind the uprising in 1916 came from the Irish middle class, who found the *comprador* economy resultant on British rule intolerable. The socialist strain in the rebellion was represented by James Connolly. He correctly perceived the bourgeois origins of the conflict but nonetheless chose to align his socialist forces with those of the middle class. Connolly was shot in 1916 and the labor movement never again found a leader adequate to the tasks of carrying the revolution past its national, bourgeois stage. In the civil war of 1922, residual revolutionary resistance was crushed by the middle-class Free State government. Finally, with the accession to power of De Valera in 1932, the real aims of the "revolution" were fulfilled: the development of a domestic manufacture and agriculture economy behind high tariff walls, which prevented the unloading of cheap British produce.

THE SITUATION IN THE Northern six counties had been very different. Whereas the capitalist economy in the South had been in a state of decline since the eighteenth century, in the North the reverse had occurred. Planted with Scots Presbyterians, and with a differing system of land tenure, powerful industries in shipbuilding, linen and agriculture had burgeoned for the Northern industrialists: the spectre of Home Rule spelled financial disaster.

> It is a commonplace that there are two Irelands, differing in race, in creed, in political aspiration, and in what I regard as a more potent factor than all the others put together—economic interest and industrial pursuit. It will be remembered that when the Home Rule controversy was at its height, the chief strength of the Irish opposition to Mr. Gladstone's policy, and the consideration which most weighed with the British electorate, lay in the business objection of the industrial population of Ulster; though on the platform religious and political arguments were most often heard. The intensely practical nature of the objection which came from the commercial and industrial classes of the North who opposed Home Rule was never properly recognized in Ireland. It was, and is still, unanswered. Briefly stated, the position taken up by their spokesman was as follows: "We have come . . . into Ireland, and not the richest portion of the island, and have gradually built up an industry and commerce with which we are able to hold our own in competition with the most progressive nations in the world . . . . It is now proposed to place the manufactures and commerce of the country at the mercy of a majority who will have no real concern in the interests vitally affected, and who have no knowledge of the science of government. The mere shadow of these changes has so depressed the stocks which represent the accumulations of our past enterprise and labour that we are already commercially poorer than we were."

So wrote an astute member of the Ulster upper class in 1903. The situation was exactly the same when the treaty came to be signed in 1921. The British government was faced with a powerful interest for whom the idea of secession from imperial markets meant ruin. The writer indicates "political and religious arguments were more often heard." Indeed they were. The party representing their industrial interests was the Unionist Party, still in power today. It was dominated by landowners of a neanderthal mentality and underpinned by a working class with no political force of its own. These various forces were and are cemented into place by the Orange Order—a semi-Masonic structure, semi-secret in character and dedicated to the maintenance of Protestant supremacy in the six counties.

Thus, with the Treaty, Ulster was excluded from the new Irish Free State and continued its profitable and unhampered participation in the British Empire (many of whose fouler generals indeed came from that province). In the South the economy was fostered behind high tariff walls. But by the end of the Fifties, the Southern Irish economy paid the price for its protected growth: stagnation, an inability to compete in international markets, and high domestic unemployment. As a result, the entire policy was reversed and a free-trade policy was inaugurated. Today the Republic is England's third largest customer and pursues a resolute policy of attracting foreign investment.

So from a capitalist point of view there is little reason for the passions of former years. The ideal solution would be a federal system, interlinking the Irish Republic, Ulster and Great Britain—a political confirmation of what to a large extent is already economic fact. The British government would be delighted if the Southern and Northern parts of

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Ireland abandoned the obsessions of yesteryear, talked turkey and then talked to London.

SUCH ARE THE RELAXED cogitations of politicians in Westminster. But the economic and political situation in Ireland today has been born—despite the suffocation of so many dreams—through heroism, terror, sacrifice, civil war. In the South, detachments of the old Republican tradition of a united republic of workers and small farmers fought on sporadically down the years. Right-wing Republicans—devout slaves of priestcraft and lachrymose nationalism—dreamed of the day *all* Ireland would be free. In the North the Protestants developed a siege mentality, perpetually afraid of the one-third of their numbers—the Catholics—who owed their allegiance to the South. The Protestants developed a system of gerrymandering and of discrimination in houses and jobs designed to perpetuate their ascendancy. To protect themselves against subversion, they passed the Special Powers Act,which suspends all constitutional rights; the Act is enforced by a paramilitary group of thugs called the B-Specials.

In October 1968 there was a march in Derry calling for civil rights and an end to job and housing discrimination. It was attacked by the police, who hosed and beat the demonstrators. This time, however, the beatings took place in front of the cameras. If the Unionist Party had not still been the victim of paranoia it would have granted these civil rights immediately: equitable distribution of houses and jobs would have meant co-optation of the civil rights movement and thus the end of a direct "threat" to Unionist supremacy.

But even that minimal demand for jobs, votes and houses was too much for the Protestant coalition. And on the right of that coalition stood the Reverend Ian Paisley. His constituency is the Protestant worker, miserably poor and destitute of any ambition save keeping his job. Paisleyism is an exercise in right-wing populist rhetoric, phrased in the rhythms of the Bible. Large and bluff, he stands before his people, attacking the Pope, attacking the landowners, attacking the army—attacking everything; for, in their misery, everything is the enemy of his audience. They have no friends at all. Opposing him is Bernadette Devlin. She commands the same populist appeal. She speaks for the poor Catholic people. Elementary socialist conviction makes her avoid speaking on a directly religious or nationalist platform: she tries to speak for the Protestant worker, too, but her voice goes unheard and, when heard, is detested by him. She has no mediate political base and thus suffers the glories and failures of that kind of politics: without a party you can, as she does, lead crusades for civil rights; you cannot, when it comes to revolutionary politics (of which she also speaks), do much more than shout.

After a number of failed appeals Bernadette was sent to jail May 29th on charges stemming from the Londonderry riots in August of last year, when she erected a Connolly plough-and-stars flag. The weekend she was committed, a Protestant march was fired on. Three people died. The deaths were, as they say, no accident. They represented a calculation by the Provisional Executive of the IRA. And they tokened a new and ambitious tactic.

FOR MANY YEARS, THE IRA was a rather right-wing petty bourgeois force, illegal, dedicated to the obliteration of the border and little else. In attempts to recover the lost counties, they fought a number of futile campaigns against the British. At the beginning of the Sixties, however, the movement took a turn to the left. A new policy emerged which identified the bourgeois government in the South as the main enemy, insisting that unification of Ireland must be predicated on a socialist revolution North *and* South of the border. In the South the IRA has pursued a policy of armed social action: attacking large and foreign landowners; protecting fishing grounds from foreign exploitation; assisting strikers. In the North the IRA faced a dilemma. Its base was the Catholic population, but its new policies prevented it from ardently pursuing a campaign of national religious irredentism.

Consequently, an attack last August on the Catholic slum-dwellers of Belfast by a Protestant mob caught the IRA there unprepared: not enough guns and not enough organization. The result was a split away by most of the Republicans in the North and some in the South. The politics of this new group, the Provisionals, are simple: guns, God and nationalism. They have effectively abandoned the socialist attitudes of the official IRA. Their calculation is quite simple: shoot a Protestant—hence a backlash, with savage reprisals by the Protestants. Such reprisals will render it impossible for the government in the South to stand idly by while its people are being killed. Across the border comes the Free State Army, and into the sea goes every Protestant in the province.

On some levels their calculations are correct. Three months ago a consignment arrived at Dublin Airport from Vienna. It contained guns. What provoked the subsequent crisis was that the addressee for this package seemed to be a Minister in the Irish government. Three of the most powerful figures in this government were subsequently arrested on charges of gunrunning to the North. The Prime Minister, Jack Lynch, had to have them arrested, since his Special Branch police had threatened to leak the facts to the opposition. But since his party, Fianna Fáil, is largely composed of middle-class people who accept as a desirable end the removal of the border, and at the very least the safeguarding of Catholics in the North, Lynch has had great difficulty in maintaining any support for his policy of the peaceful federal road. Government funds have gone from his more violent colleagues to almost any group, including the Provisional IRA, who will keep things on the boil in the North.

Ultimately such people pin rather unworldly hopes on the Free State Army. In the event of a real crisis in the North which made it impossible for an Irish government not to send troops over, what would happen? The Free State Army is ill-equipped and unaccustomed to strenuous combat. Its non-commissioned officers are happier running taxi-ranks on the side, its troops in pulling in the beet harvest, than in rushing up to Belfast.

Thus the Provisionals are trying to provoke a situation from which disaster, rather than victory, would stem. In addition, the intelligence apparatus of the British Army and police is now in excellent shape. Three weeks ago the Brit-

Continued on page 16

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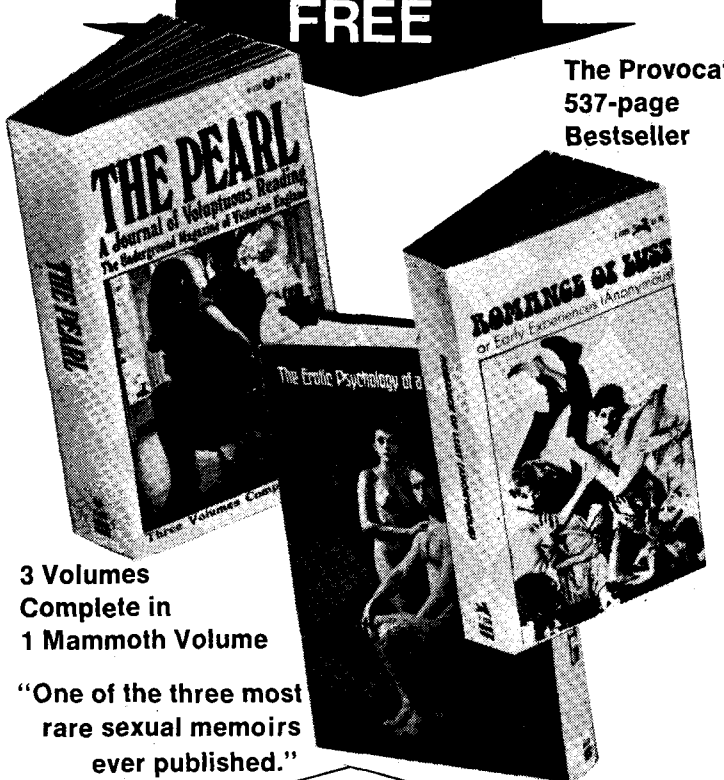

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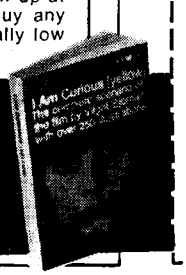

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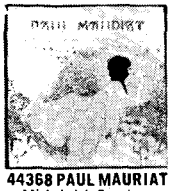

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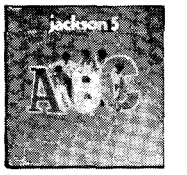

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33032 IAN & SYLVIA—Nashville
Vangu LP

17317 CASALS—Plays Beethoven
Phil LP

34525 HELLO DOLLY—Original Soundtrack
TweCe LP, 8TR, CASS

66611 JAMES BROWN—Soul On Top
King LP

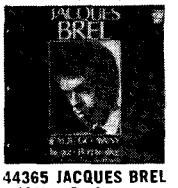
33495 BLIND FAITH
Atco LP, 8TR, CASS

33257 CHARLIE BYRD—Byrd Man
River LP, 8TR

31799 THREE DOG NIGHT—*It Ain't Easy*
Dunh LP, 8TR, CASS

17273 HANDEL—Water Music
Phili LP

17263 GREGORIAN CHANT
Phili LP

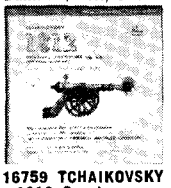


44365 JACQUES BREL—*If You Go Away*
Phili LP

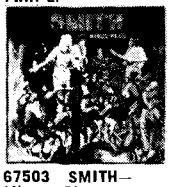
33486 CREAM—*Best of Cream*
Atco LP, 8TR, CASS

44309 BEST OF NINA SIMONE
Phili LP, 8TR, CASS

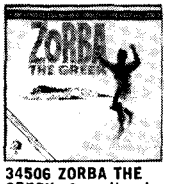
44373 HAIR: French *Original Cast*
Phil LP



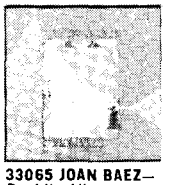
16759 TCHAIKOVSKY—1812 Overture
Mercu LP



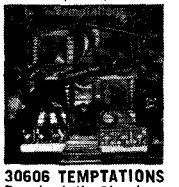
67503 SMITH—Minus–Plus
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS



34506 ZORBA THE GREEK—Soundtrack
TweCe LP, 8TR, CASS



33065 JOAN BAEZ—David's Album
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS



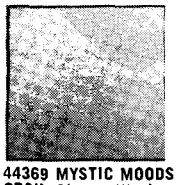
30606 TEMPTATIONS
Psychedelic Shack
Gordy LP, 8TR, CASS

33078 WEAVERS—On Tour
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS

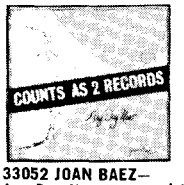
42715 BEST OF MJQ
Atlan LP, 8TR, CASS

33083 COUNTRY JOE & FISH—*CJ Fish*
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS

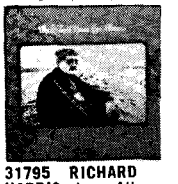
66546 RARE EARTH—Get Ready
RarEa LP, 8TR, CASS



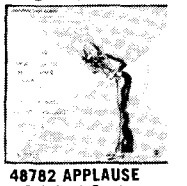
44369 MYSTIC MOODS ORCH. Stormy Weekend
Phili LP, 8TR, CASS



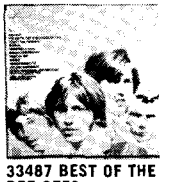
33052 JOAN BAEZ—Any Day Now (2 records)
Vangu LP



31795 RICHARD HARRIS—Love Album
Dunhi LP, 8TR, CASS



48782 APPLAUSE—Original Cast
ABC LP, 8TR, CASS



33487 BEST OF THE BEE GEES
Atco LP, 8TR, CASS

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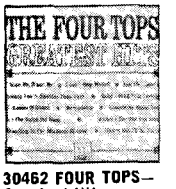
42745 WOODSTOCK—Soundtrack (3 records)
Cotil LP

33443 IRON BUTTERFLY—In A Gadda-Da-Vida
Atco LP, 8TR, CASS

17008 HANDEL—Messiah (3 records)
Phili LP

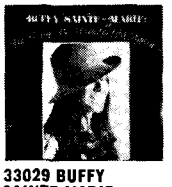


30462 FOUR TOPS—Greatest Hits
Motow LP, 8TR, CASS

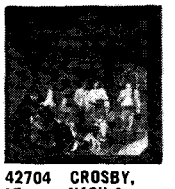
43793 SPANKY AND OUR GANG—Greatest Hits
***Mercu** LP, 8TR, CASS*

30609 SUPREMES—Right On
Motow LP, 8TR, CASS

17064 MOZART: Sym Nos. 25, 29, 32—Lon. Sym, Davis
Phil LP



33029 BUFFY SAINTE-MARIE—Gonna Be A Country Girl Again
Vangu LP, 8TR, CASS



42704 CROSBY, STILLS, NASH & YOUNG—Deja Vu
Atlan LP, 8TR, CASS

44195 FOUR SEASONS Gold Vault of Hits
Phili LP, 8TR, CASS

31973 JOHN COLTRANE—Selflessness
Impul LP

31798 MAMAS & PAPAS — Gathering of Flowers (2 records)
Dunhi LP

33044 RICHARD AND MIMI FARINA—Memories
Vangu LP

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Continued from page 12
ish Army swooped on an arms cache in the Catholic slum area. Desperate diversionary fire by the Provisionals proved fruitless. The British Army clamped down a 23-hour curfew and went through the whole ghetto area of Catholic Falls. In one sense the munitions they came up with were pathetic enough: 52 pistols, 35 rifles, six automatic weapons, 14 shotguns, 100 home-made bombs, a grenade, 25 pounds of explosives, 21,000 rounds of ammunition and eight two-way radio sets. But such weaponry is enough for defensive purposes, and now most of it, in that area at least, has been confiscated.

EVERY ROAD OUT OF the present situation is rugged with potholes. Socialist groups like the student-originated People's Democracy predicate their future strategy on the unity of the Catholic and Protestant working class, joined in struggle against the domestic oppressor. Yet with every Catholic manifestation of militancy, the Protestant working class retreats further into its vertical alliance with the middle and upper classes in the Unionist Party. The London government constantly presses the Unionist Party on the need for moderate reform. But every concession to civil rights forced out of the Unionists by Westminster looks, in Ulster, like surrender to popery. Consequently the party constantly gravitates to the right, to a siege mentality which renders impossible the moderate concessions which would ensure bourgeois stability.

The British government has two weapons: the army, which can contain the situation in a semi-peaceful prosecution of the status quo; and the other device, direct rule from Westminster. Under the Government of Ireland Act, the Stormont Parliament (dominated by the Unionist Party) is responsible for the internal affairs of the province. However, ultimate responsibility (which can, constitutionally, be exerted directly) lies with Westminster. But even though it could cut off the welfare subsidies and other grants which keep the province going, the Conservative Party in London would be no better at reforming bourgeois democracy in Ulster than the party on the spot.

For the British Socialist there has been something very inspiring about the struggles in Northern Ireland. He arrives at a time of riot; he finds a community committed to armed militant struggle. On every street he sees Citizens Defence Committees; instead of the ballot and the resolution, the Molotov cocktail and the barricade. In the suffocating torpor of Britain, where a law-and-order campaign exists without lawlessness and disorder, a march is a march is a march. Nothing happens. Over in Ulster a march is a challenge and a struggle. You might have to fight; you might get killed. Consequently, for comrades on the mainland the struggle in Northern Ireland becomes a kind of metaphor of what militant struggle really is.

But the metaphor is a treacherous one. So far all the battles fought in Derry and Belfast have really been defensive ones. Free Derry existed for a time: no police dared patrol the area; there was people's justice rather than bourgeois justice; there was, if you like, a festival of the oppressed. But oppression was the defining word. Free Derry got no larger, and the festival only went on *behind* those defensive barricades on which Bernadette and her comrades so heroically fought.

There were pogroms in Belfast in the 1920s. Catholic workers were hunted out of the shipyards and out of their homes by their Protestant brothers. Over the years have those shipworkers found any common interest? Certainly some united battles on the economic front have been fought. But three weeks ago Catholic workers in the yards were "advised" to go home by their workmates. No political unity there. Only once in this century—in the Thirties—did Catholic and Protestant workers unite and fight the police together: that campaign, for higher unemployment payments, lasted just a few weeks.

THE BALANCE SHEET at the moment is not simple. For 40 years, the Unionist Party—allying landed, manufacturing, peasant and working-class interests—maintained power through a numerical majority further strengthened by the fixed ballot and the policeman's baton. In two short years it has been panicked merely by the impertinence of any form of opposition at all. In its panic it has forfeited the indifferent sympathy of the British government, accustomed to viewing all Irish affairs as inherently barbarous or comic.

On the other side a civil rights movement has developed which has gained much support. Civil rights, limited and liberal, are precisely what many of the Catholic middle class and working class want. For the Catholic businessman it means the possibility of more extensive participation in the profitable affairs of the province; for the working-class family, a better house and a job—particularly in the west of Ulster, where unemployment runs at 23 per cent. In the course of this campaign the images of a successful militancy have become painted on many minds and caused them to somersault over the narrow limitations of votes and jobs within a capitalist system that has denied them for so long.

But the situation has reached the point where no single interest has the resources to outstrip the other. Militants in the Catholic section cannot yet overcome the bounds of religious division: at best their battles can be an aggressive form of defence. The "moderate" Unionists (in industry and commerce) cannot reform without falling to their right wing (on the land and in the slums), and the "right" Unionists can do no better than postpone reform and gesticulate at the British Army, which impedes its former unobstructed and murderous domination. In the South, right-wing Republican noises about "saving the North" and "uniting the country" confiscate from the IRA and left-wing Republicans much of the mass support they formerly commanded.

In this impasse the situation can be unlocked from time to time in violence, either planned or spontaneous. Each side is well equipped to exercise violence defensively: nothing more than that. Ultimately Ireland will be united. But whether it is to take the form of a socialist republic or a comfortable capitalist appendage to Great Britain is a question not to be answered in the next few months.

Alexander Cockburn is an editor of London's New Left Review.

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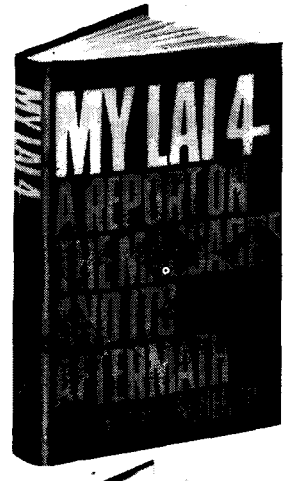

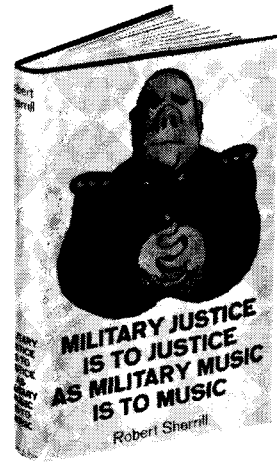

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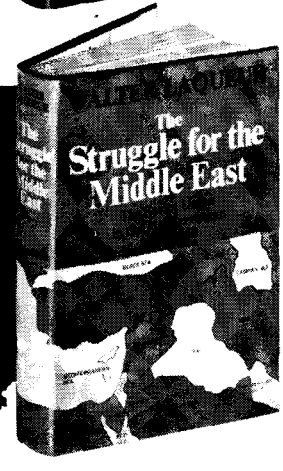

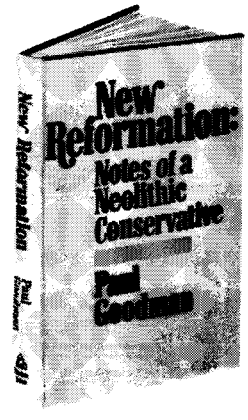

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From Rumble to Revolution: The Young Lords

"The Young Lords, until 1967 just another street gang, have become the most potent revolutionary organization of Puerto Rican youth in the United States."

CEIL KEEGAN IS 27 YEARS old, a widow, the mother of two small children. Deep brown circles appear under her eyes where the bones were crushed during one of the three beatings she has suffered since Christmas. Several months ago Ceil was walking near her home in Westside Chicago when three men drove up, forced her into their car and took her to a party a few blocks away. She was slapped around and beaten for three hours. The three men were plainclothes cops. They stood by smiling. Later they dumped her back at home, nearly dead. A few weeks after that, just a block from her home six kids from a white gang beat her and left her crumpled in the street, unable to move. Ceil is a target because she works in the headquarters of the Young Lords Organization, a Puerto Rican street gang-turned-political movement.

Today Ceil is probably safe from the intergang warfare which left her lying in the street. Not because she's dropped her work for the Young Lords, but because of the way the Lords are working with street gangs all over Chicago.

The Lords, until 1967 just another gang, have become the most potent revolutionary organization of Puerto Rican youth in the United States. The Lords are not prodigal sons, returned from suburbia to organize the ghetto. Less romantically, they started out operating in fundamentally the same style as in *West Side Story*. That history sets them apart from the vast majority of radical organizations around the country. They have negotiated peace pacts among nearly all of Chicago's white and Latin gangs, convincing them to fight, not against each other, but against the system which oppresses them. Influenced by the Lords, the 3000-member Latin Kings, the city's largest Puerto Rican gang, have begun to organize themselves politically and have started their own breakfast-for-children program. At the same time, the Lords have battered constantly at West Lincoln Park's established institutions to make them serve poor people.

In the fall of 1968 they took over the Armitage Street Methodist Church—now the People's Church—to found their headquarters and begin a day-care program.

In the spring of 1969 they led hundreds of their Puerto Rican brothers down the street to an empty lot which was to be made into $1000-membership private tennis courts, and transformed it into a children's park.

By summer they had built a coalition with several other community organizations to fight an Urban Renewal plan that envisioned West Lincoln Park as an "inner-city suburb" for midde-income whites. That battle still wears on as the Lords and their allies have joined with architects and lawyers to present their own plans for poor people's housing.

Last winter they opened a free health clinic in the basement of the People's Church, initiating the first attack on the health problems of the entire Puerto Rican community.

The Chicago YLO has inspired the formation of similar groups in Puerto Rican communities in other cities. By far the most significant of these is the New York City Young Lords. A political split between the two organizations which occurred in June has so far been free of the usual acrimony. The two groups, as is clearly revealed in their parallel development, are in any case bound together by common roots —a bond which they now express with the phrase "revolutionary compañeros."

[GANGS AND REVOLUTION]

ONCE THEIR POLITICAL conversion began, it took no more than six months to establish YLO's revolutionary outlook. Dennis Cunningham, one of several Movement lawyers in Chicago who have handled cases for the Lords and the Latin Kings for several years, points to the Lords' early and continuing affiliation with the Black Panthers as fundamental to their political development.

Like the Panthers, YLO is organized into ministerial divisions, with specified lines of authority and levels of responsibility. So far the structure has not become highly rigid. The sense of personal loyalty and friendship which pervades the

by Frank Browning

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YLO

whole collective is probably stronger than the machinery of organizational discipline.

YLO's Field Marshal is a young man named Cosmo. In his job he hangs out on the street, jiving with other gang people. Cosmo recognizes that the Chicago YLO in an important way still is a gang: "You have to understand, man, that even *before*, we were in some ways already revolutionary. Dig? It's not that we were a gang one minute and the next we were all Communists. What we had to realize was that it wasn't no good fightin' each other, but that what we were doing as a gang had to be against the capitalist institutions that are oppressing us."

Up to about six months ago the YLO was completely dependent upon Jose (Cha Cha) Jimenez, chairman and head of the gang since long before its politicization. Cha Cha is 21 and has been in the gang since 1959; as soon as he began to move into the leadership he was shuttled in and out of jail on all the usual charges stemming from "rumbles," petty theft, possession of drugs, disorderly conduct. Now he faces a one-year sentence on a charge of stealing $23 worth of lumber last summer. A companion convicted on the same offense was given 30 days. His YLO brothers are trying desperately to raise money for appeals, but they do not sound optimistic. Besides, Cha Cha went on trial again early in August on a mob action charge stemming from demonstrations against the city's Urban Renewal plans. When that trial is over he faces seven more charges.

While serving time earlier, Cha Cha discovered how full the jails were of Puerto Ricans—not just gang members, but old and middle-aged people, workers and welfare mothers. It became clear to him that the real enemy was not the Latin Kings or the Paragons or the Black Eagles; the real enemy was Daley's Chicago Urban Renewal, local Alderman George McCutcheon, and the U.S. government, whose imperial colonization policy had so mangled Puerto Rico that he and his family had been forced to leave just to survive.

A year ago last spring, Brother Manuel Ramos was shot to death by an off-duty Chicago cop. The cop crashed a YLO party and when he started badgering one of them, Ramos tried to clear it up. The cop drew his gun and fired dead-on into Ramos's left eye. "I think it was at that point that I became a real revolutionary," Cha Cha says. "Instead of going out and killing a pig, I saw the need to sit down and analyze the ways of getting even. Not with a gun. It wasn't the right time. It still isn't. We have to educate the people before we think about guns."

CHA CHA CHARACTERIZES most of the early demonstrations as being like gang fights because of their diffuse political character. April 1969 was a real turning-point for the Lords' political demonstrations. Just as a national conclave of Presbyterian ministers opened in Texas, the Lords moved into Presbyterian McCormick Theological Seminary. "Blacks were going down to demand money," Cha Cha reflects, "so we sent a Latin to get money for building houses. At the same time we felt we should do an action here to back him up and make them understand that if they didn't give poor people houses, we were going to take over the offices at McCormick.

"We went into the place, barricaded the doors and set up security with walkie-talkies. At first there were only 40 people.

"We had a press conference and by morning the place was full of poor people and guilty middle-class people. Food was always supplied to us by the people of the neighborhood. People outside tried to make trouble between us and other gangs, and the gangs would come to the gate, but we would rap with them and then they stayed to help and saw that they were political too. Dr. Arthur McKay [president of McCormick] told people he was going to call the police. It was on the news.

"We went back and held a press conference and said no warrant to leave, no piece of paper, was going to evict us anymore. McKay talked to the Board and dropped the charge, and we got a call from Texas saying we had got $600,000 for low-income housing in Lincoln Park. The Board agreed to meet our demands for housing, that their financial records be open, that McCormick join to help community groups, that it publicly oppose the racist policies of Urban Renewal, and that it open its facilities to the use of the community. We were in the building for five days before we got that decision."

If the Lords' activities get results, they also reveal their enemies. The YLO occupied the Armitage Street Methodist Church in November 1968. For six months they had asked the congregation for permission to use the basement as a day-care center. They had the support of the church's minister, Rev. Bruce Johnson. Nevertheless, an exodus of about 15 per cent of the primarily middle-class membership followed the occupation. Those who have remained with the church—now the People's Church—have transformed it into a center for dialogue on the theology of liberation.

The Lords realize that while their old image as a street

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gang helps identify them to other street people, older people in the community remain fearful. Local power-brokers like District Alderman George McCutcheon and the right-wing Chicago Tribune try to dismiss the Lords as just a bunch of rabble-rousing vandals.

The Lords never had much hope of winning the hearts of the landowners and city bureaucrats. Still, for the rest of the community—even for those middle-aged or older working people and welfare mothers who have been forced to move from one tiny apartment to another, one jump ahead of the Urban Renewal bulldozer—the Lords' history as a gang is cause for ambivalence.

But there are signs that the Lords are also reaching out more effectively into the entire community. At least two of their projects have had a profound impact on the whole of Lincoln Park and, if they can maintain organizational solidarity, could make them the most important political force in Chicago's Puerto Rican community.

[GETTING IT ON]

FOR THE LAST 15 YEARS, Lincoln Park has been on the urban planners' maps as an ideal spot to create a middle-class enclave, a suburb in the heart of the inner city. Entire blocks on Armitage, Halsted and Larrabee streets now lie bare where Urban Renewal has leveled the homes of Puerto Ricans and poor whites.

Last June the Lords and several other local groups formed a Poor People's Coalition to fight Urban Renewal plans to have the Hartford Company construct middle-income housing. The Lords asked a young architect, Howard Alan, to develop plans to be entered as a contract bid before the Urban Renewal board. (A $3000 architect's fee was paid by McCormick Seminary.) Community Urban Renewal Director George Stone led them to believe that if the Coalition submitted technically adequate plans, they would get the job.

Alan designed a building, working closely with the Poor People's Coalition and various members of the community. There would be three stories, each set back so that the roof of the floor below formed a play terrace for the apartment above. The front walls were all glass, and workrooms were placed next to them so that mothers would be able to work while watching their children play. "The terraces were designed," says Alan, "for poor people's interaction in response to an existing way of life whereby poor people could rely on each other."

The Lincoln Park Establishment seemed not to take the Coalition's project too seriously until the local Daley-appointed Conservation Community Council—a (supposedly representative) local community board selected to participate in Urban Renewal planning—came through with an 11-2 recommendation favoring the Coalition's bid.

No Community Council recommendation on a construction bid had ever been reversed by the Department of Urban Renewal (with one exception—which was overturned by the Chicago City Council). Furthermore, there has always been a policy that DUR meetings provide ample opportunity for public discussion.

As soon as the chairman opened the meeting last February, he asked all those in the packed audience opposed to the Hartford Company to stand. All but about 10 rose. Just then, a member of the five-man DUR board moved that the bid go to a private contractor. An immediate unanimous vote supported his motion, and by the time the crowd realized what had happened, the board members were clearing away their papers and were on their way out. One man jumped from the audience to grab a microphone and was immediately surrounded by a phalanx of police. Next day the Chicago Tribune headlined, in six columns, "Renewal Hearing Disrupted."

Under the plan approved by the DUR, 15 per cent of the new housing will go to poor people. The Coalition's plan called for at least 40 per cent.

YLO Minister of Information Omar Lopez refers to the Coalition's defeat as only a skirmish in what is really a war against Urban Renewal. He promises that the Urban Renewal buildings will never go up until they are designed to serve poor people.

SINCE FEBRUARY, HOWEVER, the Lords have done little on neighborhood housing—to the dismay of Howard Alan, who is anxious to work up other bids. Mio Villagomez, a lieutenant in the YLO Health Ministry who came to the Lords last winter, sees this as one of the organization's serious problems, stemming mostly from a lack of internal discipline. And he says it shows up elsewhere, when members—perhaps because of the close relationships that grew out of their long association in the gang—fail to concentrate on their own jobs, show up late for meetings, spend too much time bullshitting instead of talking to new people in the streets, or let old programs lapse when a new one has caught their interest.

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It is a pattern that will not be easily abolished. One of the things Cosmo notes about street gangs, which has both helped and frustrated the Lords in winning over other gangs to cooperative political work, is a faddish attraction to new styles. For though they may dig what the Lords are doing, it's really hard to develop the tenacity to follow through on organizational detail. That kind of periodic excitement which moves from one new program to another is what Mio criticizes as a lack of self-disciplined democratic centralism.

As long as it was dependent on Cha Cha's gentle-but-tough charismatic style, YLO seemed unlikely to solve this problem. But he has steadily shifted much of the leadership responsibility to his ministers. Friends of the organization believe it is now strong enough to stand without him, should the city's efforts to imprison him succeed. He resigned as chairman in mid-July so that full responsibility for YLO would devolve upon the Central Committee, and "in order to allow the second generation of Lords to assume the burden of responsibility and pleasure of serving the people."

OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE TO YLO strength are two new people who have come into the Lords during the last year: Omar Lopez and Alberto Chivera. Their personal warmth and serious efficiency have brought them into powerful positions as Ministers of Information and Health, respectively.

Alberto, a third-year medical student at Northwestern University, runs the health clinic, a program of free medical service to the community staffed by doctors, medical and nursing students and professional health workers. The clinic, which opened in February with a handful of patients, now receives nearly 50 people each Saturday afternoon, with services from prenatal care to eye examinations.

At first many women were afraid to go to the clinic. They were wary of the old gang image and frightened by what they had read in the city's newspapers. Then health workers started canvassing door-to-door, asking people if anyone needed medical care and making arrangements for them to come to the clinic. If they failed to appear, they were sent a personal letter inviting them to come in the next week. Sometimes members of the Health Ministry and doctors go to the homes of people who can't come to the clinic.

Alberto expects that eventually the clinic will be run entirely by the community, with only occasional help from the Lords—a real People's Clinic freely offered to and freely run by the people it is designed to serve. There is, of course, a tendency of such programs to deteriorate into the piecemeal style of government welfare: patching together one project here and plugging up another there. But the health clinic can also be a stepping-off point for further action.

The fact that the clinic does work primarily in the neighborhood means that it is tying itself very effectively into the social structure of the community. If the Lords can continue that direct relationship with the Puerto Rican women, who form one of the strongest sources of traditional stability, then their chances of growing into an effective community-wide political organization are greater than ever before.

On the surface the Health Ministry appears to offer nothing more than a slightly better version of the city's welfare program. But the camaraderie and sensitive care that the clinic has come to offer have probably become the Lords' most successful organizing tool. Not only does it go a long way toward eroding their traditional gang image, but it doesn't take too many trips to the clinic—where treatment comes free—for the people to realize that their frustration is rooted in the medical system, especially as it is embodied by Grant Hospital.

When the clinic first opened, Grant had agreed to provide free follow-up examinations upon referral by the clinic's doctors. For a while it worked. Then the hospital started billing patients and initiating collection procedures. By that time, though, enough people were behind the Lords that they could escalate their service demands beyond what Grant would concede while still staying well within the community's reasonable expectations. One especially important demand was that the hospital remove police from the emergency room (police regularly interrogate patients before and during emergency treatment). Grant's intransigence on both counts has in the process heightened older community people's awareness of its inadequacy both as a medical and as a social institution.

THROUGH THE HEALTH CLINIC more than any other program, the Lords have been able to strengthen their bonds to the community and stimulate some political awareness of how the established social service institutions work. In addition, local shopowners and businessmen have begun to support the Lords' programs. Most of the food for the breakfasts is given freely by local

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grocers. One record store owner, a staunch supporter of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, has given recordings of the Puerto Rican national anthem to be played each morning at the breakfast program.

The Lords, though strong opponents of an apolitical "cultural nationalism," are deeply committed to the liberation of Puerto Rico. They consider themselves revolutionary nationalists and maintain many ties with revolutionary leaders on the island. Before he came to Chicago last February, Communications Deputy Tony Baez was active in the Movement on the island, escaping to Chicago for fear of imprisonment. The Lords see their role as one of making Americans realize that the U.S. government has its own resort colony in just the same manner as the 19th century European empires. [See RAMPARTS, June 1970]

"We feel it our duty to see that 'Free Puerto Rico Now' will be an issue in the next year, second only to getting out of Vietnam," one Young Lord explains. "Why the stress on a nationalistic feeling for an island so far away? For a Puerto Rican living in Chicago who was forced to come here as a cheap laborer, that rallying point gives a sense of pride and identity. All were brought here because of the systematic destruction of the Puerto Rican economy and the death of jobs and promise."

It is above all this common heritage of continuing oppression which binds the Puerto Ricans living in Chicago or New York, not only to their countrymen in Puerto Rico, but also to each other and to those in other cities around the country.

[THE LORDS IN NEW YORK]

THE NEW YORK YOUNG LORDS (who since last June's split with the Chicago YLO have constituted themselves the Young Lords Party, or YLP) come out of a community whose conditions and concerns parallel the Chicago group's. Guided by the immediate needs of the people, the YLP has focused on the problems of inadequate health care and housing, malnutrition, institutions refusing to serve the community—the same issues around which the YLO organized in Chicago. At the same time, however, sources of divergency in their development can be seen, especially in organizational and tactical style and in strategic priorities, and perhaps also in the personal backgrounds of the two groups.

The New York Lords' first action was in July 1969. Unable to obtain brooms from the Sanitation Department to clean 110th Street in *El Barrio*, they got together with people in the neighborhood and built a barricade of garbage across Third Avenue at 110th. In the days that followed, the action spread to 111th and 112th Streets. At each location, the Lords held a rally and signed up some of their first recruits. The garbage offensive lasted until September 2. The Lords played a hit-and-run game, block to block, talking and spreading politics as they went. Thousands of Puerto Ricans fought the police that summer. Many joined the Lords or at least became friendly to the struggle.

That fall, the Lords began to work with welfare mothers. In October they started door-to-door lead poisoning detection tests. They found that cases of lead poisoning—due to the illegal use of cheap lead paint by tenement landlords—reached epidemic proportions in their community.

As the health work continued, the Lords themselves learned how to do simple blood tests for iron deficiency anemia, another poverty disease widespread in the community. The lack of proper nutrition convinced them to undertake a free breakfast-for-children program.

For weeks, the Lords visited the First Spanish Methodist Church on 111th Street and Lexington Avenue, trying to convince Humberto Carranzana, the Cuban refugee who ran it, to open the large basement facilities for the breakfast program (the church was in use only a few hours a week, on Sundays). On Sunday, December 7, when the Lords attempted to address the congregation, police were called in and beat and arrested 13 Lords. The women who were in the church fought back just as hard as the men, and the Party points to this as the awakening of its struggle against male chauvinism. The Lords returned to the church on December 28, 1969. This time they took it over, renamed it People's Church and began an 11-day occupation. They established an embattled communal enclave with free breakfasts, free clothing and health services, a day-care center, a liberation school, community dinners, films, and on New Year's Eve a revolutionary service to herald "The Decade of the People."

Over a hundred thousand people passed through the doors of the church during those days. The Lords explained their programs. They invoked the teachings of Jesus as a people's gospel of helping those in need.

The barricaded, barred and chained door of the church gave way to police hammers and chisels at 7:15 A.M., Wed-

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nesday, January 7. The occupation ended peacefully—as the Lords had promised, for their part, that it would. All of those busted were charged with civil contempt of a January 2 court injunction against remaining in the church. In March all of the charges were dropped.

SINCE JANUARY, SUPPORT for the Young Lords in the community has continued to grow rapidly. This was made unmistakably clear at the Puerto Rican Day Parade on June 7: As the Young Lords passed by in their purple berets, hundreds of thousands of people greeted them with cheers and the clenched-fist salute.

Community support was demonstrated in a different way a week later with the arrest of the YLP Chief of Staff, Juan "Fi" Ortiz, 16 years old, on charges of kidnapping, armed robbery and assault. The next day four different newspapers provided four implausibly differing versions of Fi's supposed crime; all of them were variations of the theme that 21-year-old Jack McCall of Newark, New Jersey, was kidnapped on an East Harlem street, forced into a car at knifepoint, driven to Brooklyn, struck on the head and robbed of $40. McCall escaped and reported the car's license number to police, who within the space of a few hours checked it, located the car and Fi and arrested him.

Fi's bail was set at $1000. The judge apparently found the police story less than convincing for the bail must approach a record low for charges of kidnapping, armed robbery and assault.

The night of the arrest, hundreds of people gathered to protest at a rally called by the Lords in front of the People's Church, which since the occupation had become a symbol of the struggle in El Barrio. YLP Chairman Felipe Luciano told the crowd: "We will not allow the brutalization of our community to go without any response. For every Puerto Rican who is brutalized, there will be a retaliation."

The Lords left the rally to return to their Bronx office to work on the current issue of their paper, *Palante*. The crowd raised YLP banners left over from the Puerto Rican Day parade the previous Sunday and marched through the streets of El Barrio chanting, *"Despierta, Boricua. Defiende lo tuyo"*—"Awake, Puerto Rican. Defend what is yours."

Suddenly, small groups of people broke from the march and fanned out north and south on Third Avenue. The gates of the A&P supermarket were pulled down and people filled up bags of groceries. Men and women gathered merchandise from other stores on the avenue; barricades went up to keep the cops—now with guns drawn—away from the people in the stores. Poverty program offices and welfare centers were also targets. Rocks and bottles pelted patrol cars. A cop was beaten when he tried to make an arrest. A car belonging to the Housing Authority, New York's Municipal Slumlord, was found abandoned on 113th Street. People covered it with garbage and crowned it with trashcans.

[THE PEOPLE'S MEDICINE]

LINCOLN HOSPITAL is located in an industrial sector of the South Bronx, the edge of one of the largest, most run-down Puerto Rican ghettos in the City.

At 5:30 on the morning of July 18, a group of about 200 Puerto Rican men and women from the YLP, the Health Revolutionary Unity Movement (a city-wide group of Third World health workers), and the Think Lincoln Committee (made up of workers and patients at Lincoln Hospital), walked into Lincoln with the aim of turning the hospital over to the community. Among their demands were door-to-door health services for preventive care, sanitary control, nutrition, maternal and child care, drug addiction care, day care and senior citizens' services, a 24-hour-a-day grievance table, and a $140 minimum weekly wage for all workers.

Hours later, hundreds of people streamed in through the front door to get free tests for tuberculosis, iron deficiency anemia and lead poisoning. Passersby looking up at the ancient, grimy building that could easily pass for a warehouse were surprised to see the Puerto Rican flag flying and banners in the window proclaiming: *"Bienvenido al hospital del pueblo"*—"Welcome to the People's Hospital."

At 10 A.M. there was a press conference. Yvette Trinidad of Think Lincoln answered a question: Why use take-over tactics? "There was garbage piled on the corner of 142nd Street and Cortland right outside of this hospital. We complained, we petitioned, we called the Mayor's office. Nothing was done. Addicts from all over town came over here to search for dirty needles in the rubble. One day we decided to act. We moved the garbage into the office of Dr. Antero Lacot, the hospital administrator; that same day the garbage got removed."

At a political education class at the hospital run by Denise Oliver, YLP's Minister of Finance, three Puerto Ricans, all under 12, told of their experience with medicine.

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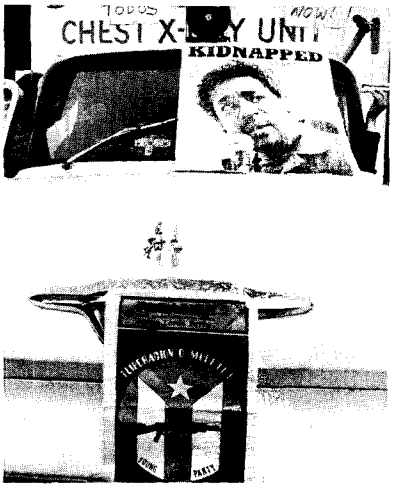

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"My brother broke his arm and had to wait two hours in the hall before a doctor came out."

"My aunt died of a wrong blood transfusion."

"My friend's mother died of hepatitis from a dirty needle."

Negotiations with the Mayor's office over the demands broke down after four and a half hours. By afternoon's end, Tactical Patrol Squad and "Special Events" cops pulled up and parked in front of the hospital. But groups of the Lords and sympathizers, many from gangs like the Bones, the Skulls and the Savage Seven, were leaving the hospital unobtrusively, a few at a time. By the time the 150 helmeted cops marched in formation into Lincoln, there was no one inside except hospital employees. The police captain, paunched and pompous, led his 150 men back out, still in formation. They had removed the Puerto Rican flag from the hospital roof.

The hospital occupation lasted a little over 12 hours. New York radio and TV news broadcasts flashed stories of the terrible conditions at Lincoln all day long. Newspapers across the country carried the story. The AP quoted Hospital Administrator Lacot as saying that the Lords did a service to the community by dramatizing conditions at Lincoln.

[ACTIONS AND IDEOLOGY]

IN DISCUSSING THE difference which led to the New York-Chicago split in the Young Lords, Omar Lopez, Tony Baez and others in Chicago point to the backgrounds of the individuals involved. The Chicago group is made up largely of high school dropouts and some who didn't finish grammar school. The New York chapter evolved out of a political organization called the Sociedad Albizu Campos, most of whose members had either graduated from or dropped out of college in or around New York. The Chicago people feel that the New Yorkers were preoccupied with ideological refinement, whereas they had neither the time nor the educational background to concentrate on theoretical work.

"Here in Chicago we're more concerned with the immediate needs of the people, but we still understand that the real struggle is not a local one," says Omar. "That's why we entered a coalition with the Panthers and the Young Patriots on a national and international level. Yet if we talk of being the vanguard, we need to be up ahead and still have something behind us too. We're better able to analyze when we're out on the streets talking with the people. Ideas must come after actions, not just from reading Marx, Lenin or Mao."

The New York group does not consider its concerns abstract. In their view, a lack of ideological clarity in Chicago was part and parcel of a number of related problems: lack of organizational discipline, leading to inconsistency in ongoing programs; inadequate internal political education; frequent changes in leadership; erratic publication of the national paper—shortcomings that are to a large extent acknowledged by the Chicago group.

The New Yorkers felt that Chicago YLO was not up to leading a sustained, closely-knit national organization. Last May, after several unsatisfactory meetings, the New Yorkers proposed that the Chicago leadership come East for an extended period to join in forging a new national structure and program. The Chicago people refused. Like the New Yorkers, they were unwilling to leave their local work. The split followed, even though relations remain amicable and Chicago members are "hopeful" that they can continue to "work in a way that will enable us to come together again."

THE LORDS ARE TRYING to confront the problem of how to sustain organizational continuity—a perennial problem on the left. The most long-lived organizations are often the most irrelevant sects. The most vital movements—in campus struggles, for instance—are often plainly ad hoc and ephemeral. Clearly a synthesis is needed, and the experience of the two Young Lords groups will be instructive.

It is no accident that episodic organization is endemic to the left. Not only are groups like the Lords and the Panthers subjected to increasingly ruthless repression, but the left also lacks the access to money, power and friendly media that sustains the established institutions of society. The continuity of radicalism is at bottom a continuity of the suffering and outrage that give rise to it. In time these may find their expression in many different organizations or actions.

At the Lincoln Hospital press conference, a reporter asked how the Lords could go on taking over one thing after another. And Minister of Information Yoruba replied, "Because we serve our people. That's why we could move from People's Church to a TB truck to Lincoln Hospital—and you-all don't know where we're gonna be tomorrow."

Research in New York conducted by Roberta Weintraub/ Liberation News Service.

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[EDITORIAL]

The Lessons of a Massacre

ABOUT A YEAR AGO, RAMPARTS sent David Ransom to investigate the story of the "Berkeley Mafia" and its role in the Indonesian Massacre of 1965. In this issue, we are printing his story. It is a tale of international subversion and academic complicity that should give sleepless nights to everyone involved in the American university system, especially to every recipient of foundation money and to every "scholarly" ambassador doing research in the Third World.

Ransom's story is a parable of the modern American empire: it shows how the Ford Foundation and its high-class academic "advisory" teams have supplanted old empires and subverted new nationalisms. It is a vivid account of the costs of this process, which in Indonesia brought on a bloodbath unparalleled in our times. The death of from 3–500,000 Indonesians, however, did not particularly bother State Department, Ford Foundation and American university diplomats. They practically tripped over the corpses in their haste to open up the archipelago to United States corporate prospectors searching for the Indies' fabulous wealth in minerals and oil.

The university community was involved in the Indonesian events to an extraordinary degree. But the most salient lesson of the episode is that the university system in this country is corrupt not just at its Pentagon- and CIA-infested extremities but also at its professional heart. Every week we are told by some "courageous" administrator that the university system must not allow itself to become "politicized" by radical students. But it is clear that institutions like the Ford Foundation and the Pentagon politicized it long ago. The "scientific" intellectual doctrines it promotes as objective and neutral are in fact the political dogmas with which U.S. agencies and interests dominated people in the Third World. And behind the façade of its abstract models lie the techniques and personnel for the management of a modern empire.

That this should be so is hardly surprising. In an article on the "Sinews of Empire" (October 1969), we showed how the entire program of international studies, which includes more than 190 institutes and centers in schools throughout the country, was created from whole cloth by the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations in conjunction with an elite network drawn largely from the OSS-CIA and the Council on Foreign Relations. We also showed how these stewards of American empire created the intellectual terms and academic programs of international studies so that they dovetailed exactly with the task of administering imperial policy.

AS A RESULT OF THE United States' genocidal attempt to subdue Indochina, some Americans have plunged into demonstrations, resistance and other attempts to cripple the war machine. Last spring's university strike was the most impressive of these actions thus far. But in every case it has been the Pentagon, the CIA or the personalities of various politicians that have been regarded as the enemy. Meanwhile, liberals have insisted that the American university is our last best hope; that it is an enclave of enlightened criticism of American military policy. But Ransom's story shows that the radicals who have assaulted the enemy within the universities have been right all along: higher education as now constituted is an integral part of the system of war and oppression by which this country exercises its will abroad. Perhaps the most striking aspect of Ransom's account of the academic takeover of Indonesia is that Ford and the universities made the CIA and Pentagon presence virtually irrelevant, a striking indication of how deeply involved the university has become.

Exposés, however, will not stop the machinery of empire. Four years ago, RAMPARTS revealed the universities' collusion with the CIA in setting up the Diem regime in South Vietnam (see RAMPARTS, April 1966); but the president of Michigan State University, who superintended this alliance, is today the head of Nixon's AID program, while the chief architect of CIA-MSU cooperation, Wesley Fischel, is now head of the Center for Vietnamese Studies and Program at Southern Illinois University. Exposés must lead to action, and action to the ability to close the university down, if necessary, rather than allow it to continue to function as part of the imperial war-machine.

This fall tens of thousands of university students are planning to knock on doors for peace candidates in an effort to halt the Indochina war at the polls. But how can they expect to reverse policy in remote Washington if they cannot prevent their own universities from serving as strategic nerve centers for those same imperial war programs?

As the school year begins across the nation, RAMPARTS urges students (and non-students) to focus their anti-war energies on the campuses themselves, where the enemy is close and the anti-war forces are concentrated. The demands should be loud and uncompromising:

1. End all ROTC programs.
2. Stop all weapons research.
3. Close all existing international studies programs and institutes and reconstitute them under student-faculty control as centers for the study of American imperialism.
4. End all field projects in the Third World which are funded by bodies external to the university and not under faculty-student control.
5. Recognize the political nature of foundations like Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie and put an end to all projects funded by them, as well as those funded by the Pentagon, AID and the CIA.

If these objectives can be even partially accomplished, the university community will not only have done a tremendous service to the peoples of Southeast Asia and the rest of the Third World, but also to itself.

—THE EDITORS

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The Berkeley Mafia and the Indonesian Massacre

"Indonesia is the best thing that's happened to Uncle Sam since World War II."—A World Bank official

INDONESIA, WHICH in the past fired the imagination of fortune-hunters and adventurers as the fabled East Indies, was long regarded as "the richest colonial prize in the world." Harking back to such times, Richard Nixon described Indonesia in 1967 as "the greatest prize in the Southeast Asian area." Not too many years earlier, however, the prize had been thought all but lost to the fiery nationalist, Peking-oriented Sukarno and the three million-strong Indonesia Communist Party waiting in the wings. Then in October 1965 an unsuccessful coup and a swift move by Indonesia's generals immobilized the leader and precipitated the largest massacre in modern history, in which from 500,000 to a million unarmed communists and their peasant sympathizers were killed. When the bloodletting was over, the immense nationalist spirit of a decade had vanished, and the Indies' vast natural treasures were opened by the new regime to U.S. oil companies and corporations.

To cut the ribbon on the Indonesian side was an extraordinary team of economic ministers known to insiders as "the Berkeley Mafia." Sporting PhDs from the University of California and acting as a closely-knit clique in the councils of power, these men shaped the post-nationalist policies of the new regime. Behind their rise to eminence and power lay a saga of international intellectual intrigue, of philanthropoids and university projects, of student Generals and political Deans, and a sophisticated imperial design beyond Cecil Rhodes's wildest dreams.

Part I

[A DEAN IS BORN]

FOLLOWING JAPAN'S DEFEAT in World War II, wars of national liberation raged in China and Vietnam. Meanwhile, far away in Washington offices and New York living rooms, Indonesian independence was being sensibly arranged. By 1949 the Americans had persuaded the Dutch that if they took action before the Indonesian revolution went the way of China, they could learn to live with nationalism and like it. And sure enough, in that year the Indonesians accepted an independence agreement, drafted with the help of friendly American diplomats. It maintained the severely war-weakened Dutch economic presence, while swinging wide the Open Door to U.S. cultural and economic influences as well.

Among those who handled the diplomatic maneuvers in those years were two young Indonesian aristocrats: Soedjatmoko,* called "Koko" by his American friends, and an economist and diplomat named Sumitro Djojohadikusumo. Both were members of the upper-class, nominally socialist PSI (Partai Sosialis Indonesia), one of the smaller and more Western-oriented of Indonesia's myriad political parties.

In New York the two were lionized by a group closely linked to the notorious Vietnam lobby which shortly thereafter launched Ngo Dinh Diem on his meteoric career in U.S.-Vietnamese politics. The group, which included Norman Thomas, was composed of members of the Committee for Independence of Vietnam and the India League. It occupied something of a vanguard position among socialist anti-communists. "We were concerned that the United States not be caught flatfooted in the post-war necessity to create non-communist governments in Asia," explains League member, Park Avenue attorney and legal counsel for Indonesia in the U.S., Robert Delson.

Delson squired Sumitro and "Koko" around town, introducing them to his friends in the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and to top anti-communist labor leaders. They also circulated in Establishment circles, particularly among members of the foundation-funded Council on Foreign Relations, the most influential elite policy-formulating group in the United States.

DISTRESSED BY Indonesia's peppery nationalist leader Sukarno and the strong left wing of the Independence forces, the Americans found that, as with Diem in Vietnam, the rather bland nationalism of "Koko" and Sumitro offered a most palatable alternative. In Council on Foreign Relations parlance, they were interested in "modernizing" Indonesia, not revolutionizing it. At the Ford-funded School of Advanced International Studies in Washington in early 1949, Sumitro explained that his kind of socialism included "free access" to Indonesian resources and "sufficient" incentives for foreign corporate investment.

When independence came later that year, Sumitro returned to Djakarta to become Minister of Trade and Industry in the coalition government and then, in two later cabinets, Minister of Finance. As Minister through the early '50s, Sumitro defended an economic "stability" that favored Dutch investments. Carefully eschewing radicalism, he appointed as advisor the German Hjalmar Schacht, economic architect of the Third Reich.

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* Many Indonesians have only one name.

by David Ransom

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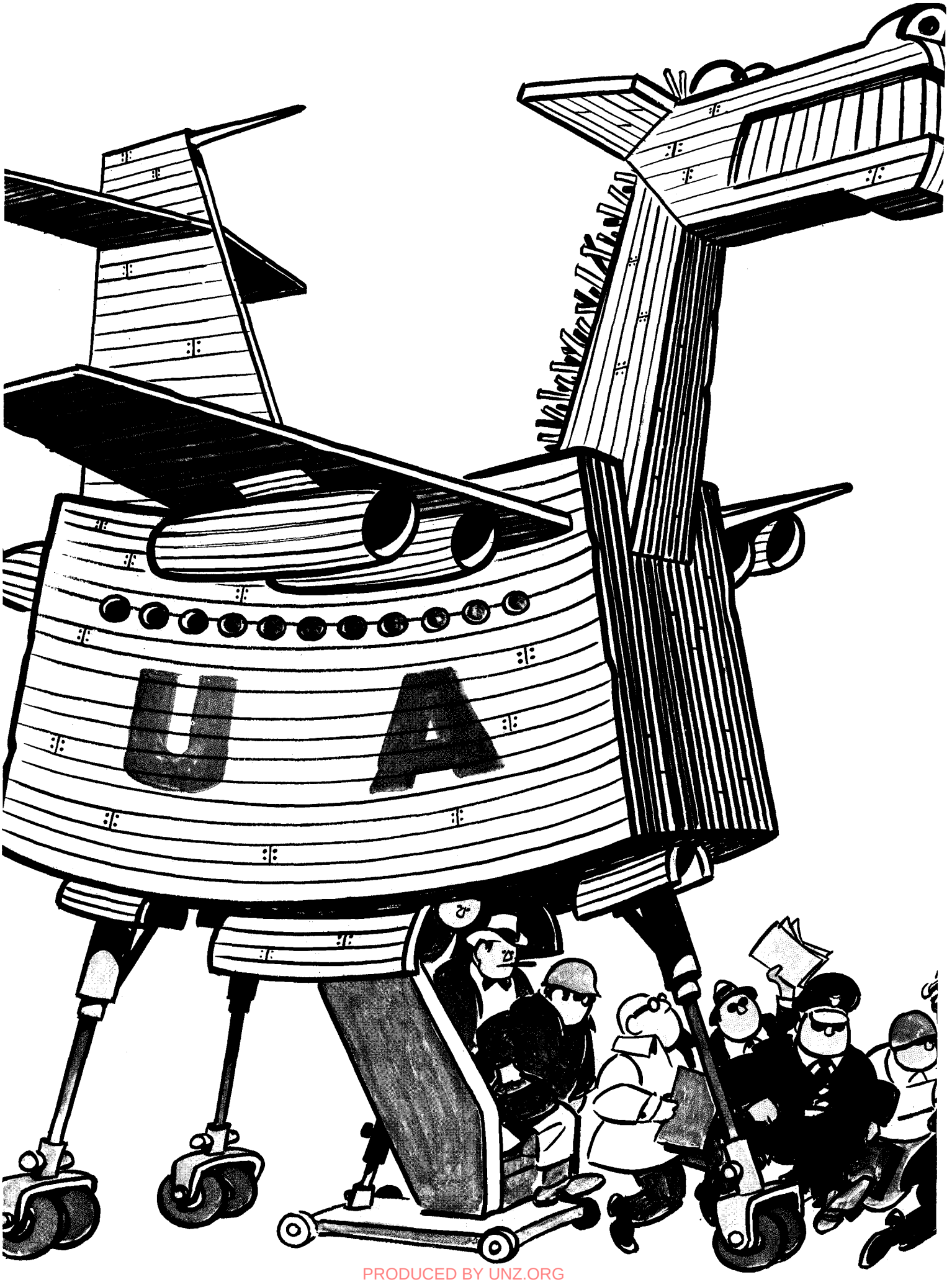

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Sumitro was supported by the PSI and their numerically stronger "modernist" ally, the Masjumi Party, a vehicle of Indonesia's commercial and landowning *santri* Moslems. But he was clearly swimming against the tide. The Communist PKI, Sukarno's PNI, the Army, the orthodox Moslem NU—everybody, in fact, but the PSI and Masjumi—were riding the wave of post-war nationalism. In the 1955 national elections—Indonesia's first and last—the PSI polled a miniscule fifth place. It did worse in the local balloting of 1957, in which the Communist PKI emerged the strongest party.

Nevertheless, when Sukarno started nationalizing Dutch holdings in 1957, Sumitro joined Masjumi leaders and dissident Army commanders in the Outer Islands Rebellion, supported briefly by the CIA. It was spectacularly unsuccessful. From this failure in Sumatra and the Celebes, Sumitro fled to an exile career as government and business consultant in Singapore. The PSI and the Masjumi were banned.

America's Indonesian allies had colluded with an imperialist power to overthrow a popularly elected nationalist government, headed by a man regarded as the George Washington of his country—and they had lost. So ruinously were they discredited that nothing short of a miracle could ever restore them to power.

THAT MIRACLE TOOK A decade to perform, but now Sumitro has risen once again. He serves as Minister of Trade in a new Indonesian government. And he is no longer odd man out: today he is regarded as the number two man in Indonesia, and he and his comrades are firmly in control.

The "modernist" restoration was not imposed by American troops. The secular arm of American imperium reached into Indonesian politics, often under the cloak of the CIA. But it was the hallowed private institutions of academia and philanthropy that worked the greatest wonders. For Sumitro had not simply been a minority politician and cabinet minister, but since 1951 Dean of the Faculty of Economics at the University in Djakarta. There he marshalled the young men with whom he planned to implement his program for Indonesia; there the Ford Foundation made common cause with him to do so.

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The New Trojan Horse—
to Indonesia from Harvard, MIT, Berkeley and Cornell

Illustration by Bob Bastian

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The Urban Guerrilla in Brazil

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"There was no resistance. We caught everybody sleeping.... They were so happy that we were not killing them that they actually helped us gather up the rifles and machine guns and hand grenades and load them in the truck. It took about 20 minutes."

ON JUNE 14 OF THIS year, 44 members of armed Brazilian revolutionary groups stepped out of their country's prisons and boarded a transatlantic jet transport bound for Algiers. They were free because the West German Ambassador to Brazil had been held hostage for their release. It was Brazil's third such exchange of prisoners in less than a year.

The following is an interview with four representative members of that group, prepared in Algiers by RAMPARTS correspondent Andy Truskier. It presents, along with vivid descriptions of their armed actions, their strikingly articulate views on the role of urban guerrilla warfare, the relation of violence to politics, their general program for Brazil, and their reaction to the torture which they suffered in prison, along with at least 12,000 other political prisoners, including Catholic priests and nuns.

This "systematic and general" torture has been documented in grisly detail in Le Monde, the Times of London and the New York Times. What has been left obscure is the extent of U.S. responsibility, not only for the cruel conditions of "underdevelopment" in general, but specifically for the 1964 overthrow of liberal reformer President Goulart and for bringing on and sustaining the current regime and its practices. The revolutionaries' Brazilian Information Bureau in Algiers has provided us, for example, with a photocopy of a document outlining a $7 million AID contract for training the same Brazilian police who have been responsible for the wholesale torture which has scandalized the American press.

There are currently six armed revolutionary groups active in Brazil working in cooperation (the 44 whose release was demanded, for example, were deliberately drawn from all groups). The groups are all more or less inspired by Carlos Marighella, the Brazilian revolutionary leader and theorist of urban guerrilla fighting who was killed by police on November 4 of last year. The organizations have various political backgrounds, in large part split-offs from the Brazilian Communist Party, which is not engaged in armed actions, with some coming from disaffected elements in the army.

Those interviewed here are: Ladislaw Dobor, leader of the VPR (Vanguarda Popular Revolucionária) (Popular Revolutionary Vanguard); Carlos Eduardo Fleury of the ALN (Accão Liberação Nacional) (Action for National Liberation); Fernando Nagle Gabeira, MR-8 (Movimento Revolucionário-8) (Revolutionary Movement of October 8); and Angelo Pezzutti. —THE EDITORS

There has been a great deal of publicity in the U.S. about the kidnapping of diplomats who are then traded for political prisoners. Can you describe how one of these kidnappings was accomplished?

Dobor: The kidnapping of the Japanese consul was really rather funny. On one side of the place where we seized him is the federal police headquarters; on the other side, less than 100 yards away, is the headquarters of the civil police; on the third side is the district police station; and only 50 yards away is the state security agency! Militarily this type of action is usually very simple. He was in his car with a chauffeur. One person in a Volkswagen began to swerve about the road as if his car were out of control, and he motioned to the ambassador's chauffeur to stop, which of course he did because he didn't want to ram into the VW. Six of our people stepped in at this point. I was on the corner and explained to the ambassador's chauffeur that he should remain calm. Two people then took the consul and put him into a car and drove away.

There was also a second car. We always have one main car and one security car. Both cars have firing teams and if there is any police intervention we try to get the police car in the middle between the two. That's what happened in this case. A few kilometers away, the police managed to find us, seemingly by coincidence. They took a look at our car. The car behind blocked them; we turned to the left and the police just went straight. They didn't want any trouble.

Why did you choose kidnapping as a tactic?

Gabeira: In Brazil the only way to get a person out of jail is through kidnapping. We have about 500 revolutionaries in jail. The judicial system is very closely linked to those responsible for the repression. When we go before the judges, we know they will condemn us to about 20 years in jail. It is not possible to contact a lawyer or to make a defense. So the only way to get people out is to kidnap an important personality. We see nothing "unfair" in kidnapping "an innocent person," since the authorities arrest not only revolutionaries but many ordinary people as well. Besides, as Carlos Lamarca, the head of the VPR, has said, "A diplomat who can live with a dictatorship can live with us for three days."

We have found that large numbers of people relate very positively to the kidnappings. When the American ambassador, Elbrick,was kidnapped, the police received hundreds of anonymous phone calls saying he is here, he is there. And when the government, as one of the conditions of the release, was forced to broadcast our message on the official radio station, many small groups of people with transistor radios appeared on the street—it was a form of demonstration.

You have been able to capture many of your weapons from the government. How are you able to do this?

Dobor: I can tell you about a raid on a military police barracks in which I participated. We had 12 people and we staged the raid at ten o'clock at night. We put out people as

Illustration by Asela M. Perez/Courtesy of OSPAAAL

Interview by Andy Truskier

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sentinels; they pretended they had come to find some girls to bring into the barracks for the soldiers. Our people went inside. I was directing the outside part. I had a walkie-talkie. They had a second one inside, so that if they had problems we could give them help. We usually take no chances; we have a lot of arms.

On this raid we had two cars and a small truck that we sent. There was no resistance. We caught everybody sleeping. We didn't even have to take their arms. They were very scared since they were victims of the government propaganda which says that we like to kill and slaughter the poor soldiers. They were so happy that we were not killing them that they actually helped us gather up the rifles and machine guns and hand grenades and load them in the truck. It took 20 minutes. A lot of people watched the action, but nobody called the police. From the car where I was sitting, I saw some MPs coming. I signalled the others with the walkie-talkie, and they took the MPs prisoner the minute they came in. They had no chance to run and they didn't try any heroics. They knew that when a police headquarters is attacked it is the revolutionaries, and they were afraid.

In fact, during several actions we have had a police car pass right by. They don't stop because they know if they do they may be killed. They know it is a political action, and they don't understand what it is about. They usually don't even radio in for help, because if they did they would later have to explain why they didn't stop.

This barracks raid was one of the longest actions we have done. Usually our actions in banks last three or four minutes. Grabbing the Japanese consul took about 40 seconds.

How is an action planned?

Dobor: The actions are usually very simple. We prepare them very carefully, usually for two or three weeks. Everyone is perfectly acquainted with the terrain and the habits of the police in the vicinity. We plan everything well because we don't want to fire a shot. In the VPR we have never fired a shot, except when I was captured.

How did that happen?

Dobor: The police had tortured a young girl very badly and she had told them where I could be found. Some 20 plain-clothes police jumped me from behind. I managed to get off one shot at a policeman as I was being thrown down. I missed. I had a Luger and there are many problems with automatic pistols. The second shot didn't go off and they managed to take me alive.

How did you come to choose the urban battleground?

Pezzutti: In the beginning our objective in the cities was to get money and arms—resources necessary to initiate rural guerrilla warfare. We didn't intend to begin the fight in the big cities yet. But in 1968 to 1969 we realized that the urban actions themselves had a very good impact. They were very well received by the workers and the students.

So we started to engage in acts more directly linked to the immediate needs of the workers. In the industrial city of Belo Horizonte in October 1968, workers in the metal industries and the banks were on strike. The police were arresting and attacking strikers who went back to the factory to agitate, and they were forcing the workers at the banks to continue

From left to right: Ladislaw Dobor, Carlos Eduardo Fleury and Fernando Nagle Gabeira.

work. So we decided to rob a government bank in Belo to symbolize the oppression of the workers and to show the power a small number of people could have by using the tactics of the guerrilla—surprise, organization and a concentration of force.

Nine of us went into the bank. In three minutes we had peacefully subdued the 40 people inside, taken all the money and distributed pamphlets explaining the reason for the action. There were troops near the bank and police cars passing in front every five minutes. But they never saw a thing.

How do you choose your actions?

Dobor: We try to pick actions which speak for themselves. We have attacked supermarkets—especially American supermarkets—and distributed the food, inviting the people from the *favelas* [slums] to help themselves. And they do. Or we seize a truck with American canned food, such as Armour or Swift, take it to a slum, leave it there and write on it the American slogan, "What is good for America is good for Brazil?" Many people in the slums understand the joke.

We follow one basic rule: We do not use violence that is not understood by the people. If the people don't understand it, the government can use it against us. This is why we must be gradual. For example, we kidnap a company owner who does not pay his wages, and force him to pay. What can the government say? We are forcing the owner to abide by the law. This kind of action will never turn the people against us. After we leave food in the slums, the people don't give a damn for propaganda that says we are bandits and murderers. On the other hand, the army always reacts against us in such a situation. By firing on workers, the army makes the people angry and brings them to the point of understanding action on yet another level—that is, action directed against the military.

And the people, especially poor people, often do support us. Sometimes when militants have gotten into armed fights with the police, they have escaped into the *favelas,* often holding their guns. When the police question the people

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there, they say they saw nothing. Sometimes, due to inexperience, we get into a situation where hundreds of people are observing an action and laughing. In the first bank action I did, people were watching, but no one called the police. One man wanted to call them and went to a bar and asked to use the telephone. The man there refused to let him use it. "It's not *my* money," he said.

It is very wrong to imagine that we are highly trained agents, able to do things very skillfully. It's not like that. We are simply people who are very determined in what we do. That is why the police and army are afraid of us.

Do you use bombs?
Dobor: No. We do not use forms of violence that can be twisted by the government. If the people heard that we use bombs, the government would do exactly what the U.S. does in Vietnam, and what the French did here in Algeria. They would put a few bombs in a movie-house on a Saturday afternoon, when it is full of children. And then we would have the entire population running after us in the streets.

We choose very selective targets whose meaning cannot be distorted by the government.

What is the meaning of the bank robberies?
Dobor: We try to show the people that the big capitalists are robbers and that the government uses the army against the workers to stop strikes, even killing people. This helps the capitalists get more money. We go to get the money where they put it: in the banks. Tactically, we always characterize the bank actions as "getting the money back," and we do get a lot of it back. We also rob the generals and politicians who are in the pay of the Americans. They are so tremendously corrupt that they cannot put their money into banks. They keep it at home—so we go there to get it.

In one case we got $2.4 million cash! It was very funny: it was one of the biggest robberies ever made in Latin America, but instead of accusing us, as they always do, the government suppressed the story for six months because so many in the government had their hands in this money. They finally admitted that the robbery had happened, but only because it had become a "scandal"—a fairly large number of people had seen us do it. We had to take out a safe weighing 250 kilos, which required the use of a truck.

Are many people in the organization actually underground?
Gabeira: Yes; those people who are actually sought by the police cannot have a job because they might be recognized. One such person is the leader of the VPR, Carlos Lamarca, who is the most wanted man in Brazil. But many members do have "cover" identities and lead a seemingly normal life.

How do you guard against infiltration by government spies?
Dobor: First, we accept only people whom several members of the organization have known for at least a few years, or even before 1964. We try to take no chances. Although according to our intelligence section the Brazilian Army has trained 800 infiltrators, we have never had an infiltration. On the other hand, we are taking countermeasures, which means that we ourselves are infiltrating the various intelligence services of the government. We can do this more easily now because many people in the army are disgusted by the dictatorship.

Gabeira: Before a person actually comes into our organization, he is given a series of tests—some small actions to see how he performs. In some cases a person will be functioning for a long time with no contact with the organization.

When the police killed Marighella, the government said the Dominicans had betrayed him. Is that what happened?
Fleury: Marighella was very hard to disguise. He was very tall, quite dark and very big. The police recognized him in the street; they encircled him. There was an exchange of shots and he was killed. He had nothing to do with the Dominican fathers. The government blamed the priests in order to demoralize the movement, to split the leftist movement in general from the leftist church.

Brazil is known for having won independence from Portugal, abolished slavery, overthrown the monarchy, and made the revolution of 1930, all with little or no actual violence. What brought you to the point of armed struggle?
Gabeira: We did not choose this way of fighting; it was chosen by the dictatorship and by its ally, the United States. Before 1964, we thought change might come in Brazil through peaceful means, but with the right-wing military coup, the only way left to us was armed struggle.

After the coup, how did the armed struggle get its start?
Dobor: In the first years after the coup, we had many discussions and splits. By 1967 only a few small groups had taken up arms—though one group even assassinated the CIA agent Norman Chandler. But then in 1968, very large mass movements among the students and workers erupted and the government had the police shoot into the strikers and demonstrators. Many were killed. The mass movements practically disappeared, but some of the leaders and cadres wanted to continue to fight. Since the government had closed off the peaceful forms, they came into the armed organizations. It was then that the urban guerrilla commandos really began.

Our organizations grew tremendously. We didn't know what to do with all the people who wanted to join and begin fighting. But it is not as simple as that. To join an armed organization you have to be contacted in a secure manner, you have to know how to fight, you have to know how to shoot, how not to be followed, how to write codes, how to remember certain kinds of things, and most of all, how to organize. It's difficult. It's a big investment, and our problem is that we simply have too many people to train adequately with the resources available.

We did a lot of actions, and our people were very heroic. But they were inexperienced so it ended up as a slaughter. Many were killed, many arrested and put in prison, where they were unprepared to resist the tortures. Many of the first revolutionaries are still in prison. I was arrested in November 1968, managed to come out and was arrested again two months ago. Now, as you see, we are developing better techniques to get people out.

Another problem was that initially the police were not working very hard against us. As a result, we did not build the type of organizational structure that could withstand the

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concerted assault by the police which came later. We also did not expect so much violence and torture. After days of torture and electric shock, many people could not resist, and gave away information. Thus the police managed, with a little luck, to take the important sectors of the organization. Most of the initial structures we had built are now gone.

Now we are building a different kind of movement. We have fewer people, but they are much better trained. Most have been shooting and fighting some two years. We can already speak of experienced cadres. We have good organization, good arms and a lot of money. Gradually it has become a stable, more intelligent and more organized movement. A few months ago we even gave orders to one of our sectors in Rio de Janeiro to stop all recruiting because the problem is not to get more people but to give the people we already have the ability to fight. To do this for even one person is a lot of work. We have found that one experienced person can work with and train five or six others at most. This is the way in which our new commando groups are formed, and it is working quite well.

Where are the new recruits coming from? What kind of people are they?

Gabeira: With a few exceptions, the members are under 30, some as young as 16. There are many students from sociology, the letters and arts, and law, fields with few prospects on the job market. We are beginning to recruit a few workers, mainly those who participated in the 1968 strikes. Although there are fewer women than men, the women perform the same functions as the men, and we hope that as the revolutionary process escalates, more women will join.

How do you relate your military and political strategies?

Dobor: At this point our goals are not so much military in the sense of inflicting significant military losses; what is more important is the political tactic of getting the people on our side and isolating the government. When that happens there will be no stopping us because we will have a social base, a base of sympathetic people to support us and hide us and join us. This will also mean that we will have a military effect, and that when we perform purely military actions the people will accept it.

Right now, we are not interested in making a show of strength, because we are very few and very weak. Mostly we want to show the people that we are fighting for them. The fact that the government is torturing us, the fact that dozens of us are prepared to die for our country—all this penetrates to the population. And they will easily come to despise the police because they know that they are corrupt and morally deficient, while the people who are opposing them are very clearly idealistic. . . . While the gun is always a political instrument, in the beginning it is almost wholly that.

Gabeira: Our plans for the coming year also involve working on two other problems. First, we want to continue to unify and centralize the revolutionary organizations. At the moment, groups are planning actions together—the kidnapping of the German ambassador was done by two organizations, VPR and ALN. This sort of action can really lead to integration; you can find out what you have in common. Whereas if you only discuss, you usually find out what you don't have in common.

Our common experience, both in jail and here in exile, will no doubt also contribute to unification.

Second, we want to establish ourselves in the countryside, which many of us feel will ultimately be the more important arena of battle. Right now we are laying the basis for this by beginning to mount isolated incidents in the countryside. For example, sugar plantations in several regions have been burned to the ground.

You are still interested in rural guerrilla warfare?

Pezzutti: We think the most exploited class in Latin America is the peasantry. They are a population living on subsistence. They are a potential revolutionary force that will prove very important. Also, the country is a better place to wage guerrilla warfare.

Gabeira: There are other factors too. The working class in Brazil is very small. Also, many of the workers have only recently come from the countryside. They are just entering the consumer economy, which seems a step up for them. They are getting some privileges—they have more privileges than their brothers in the countryside. And the agricultural sector of the economy is in stagnation.

Pezzutti: We believe that the machinery of the dominant classes' power is stronger in the cities, so the opportunities for a popular army are better in the country. We think the urban fight is slightly secondary, but the popular army must be built in the revolutionary fight, both urban and rural.

Does the revolution have a platform or program?

Dobor: At the moment our movement is mostly a movement of young people, especially students. We feel it is part of a general youth movement that has sprung up in many parts of the world—in the United States, in Poland, and tomorrow probably in Russia. Most of all, this is a movement of revolt against the world as it is, and as such it brings something new into politics—a kind of morality.

Since our movement is a popular movement, we cannot have a narrow and precise program. But what we basically want is to bring back to the people the initiative in politics. We are not going to be presidents and prime ministers; we want to start a popular movement which will allow the masses of people to have their say as to what kind of government and society will be constructed in Brazil.

We in the VPR do have a general program, which is the same as that of Marighella's group, the ALN.

First, we are fighting for the freedom of the Brazilian people. We want to abolish the dictatorship; we want freedom of organization, freedom of association, all those rights which allow the people to stand up with a minimum of dignity. When the people are afraid, they don't usually have dignity.

Second, we are fighting for independence. Our development has always before been linked to foreign powers, first to Portugal, then to England, now to the United States. Because of this intolerable dependency, we have, amidst great luxury, people dying of hunger and of simple, controllable diseases. We need development that is linked to the basic need of the people: real independence; to be economically

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War in Vietnam, Massacre in Indonesia, Repression in America. And Peace? . . .

Peace in Middle Earth

THE PAINTINGS SHOWN on these pages are the work of San Francisco artist Bill Martin, 27, a graduate of the San Francisco Art Institute. They are among the most successful examples of a recent tendency in art (including also poster art) which has proved to be deeply appealing to young people in America. Like Tolkein's *Fellowship of the Ring,* these paintings seem to evoke an intimate nostalgia for a past one has never known, and which never was.

This same quality which makes Bill Martin's work so compelling is one which has aroused concern among some radicals who find it characteristic of the "youth culture"

Paintings by Bill Martin

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generally. These people are alarmed at what seems to them a perilously seductive tranquillity which may bemuse us and distract us from the real troubles of the world which cry out for our attention. They fear that escapism is numbing our moral and political sensibilities.

There are undoubtedly many signs of a readiness to turn our attention away from the world as it is. But that is not due to an insensitivity to the prevalence of suffering. It is just because the consciousness of that suffering becomes for many so unbearably acute that the need for relief becomes overpowering.

The legendary Humorless Revolutionary (in real life now blessedly rare) maintains his hold on reality without relief, with an almost paranoid tenacity. He decries the lotus-eaters, lulled insensate by grass and macramé. He dreads the demonic Establishment co-opters, doling out their soporific potions of *ersatz* cultural revolution.

This concern is to a large extent misplaced. Many an im-

Paintings photographed by Don Whittakep

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mobilized former activist indeed has burned himself out with his relentless consciousness. When the enormity of evil enervates, a judicious dose of escape can revive the revolutionary spirit.

Some radicals fear that if they try letting go, they will get hooked on it. But if escape addiction were really that easy to contract, FBI men would be out pushing science fiction books on the street corners outside college dorms. When people do become escape heads, it is for deeper reasons. People do not lose themselves to the Hare Krishna cult just because the song is catchy. And while some of the new medievalists have gone off the deep end with their hobby, few urban guerrillas will be so entranced by the Whole Earth Catalogue as to pick up the boffing sword and lay down the gun.

Escape is under control when you can take pleasure in a charming illusion while still recognizing it for what it is. The real danger of the sense of placid spiritualism that is

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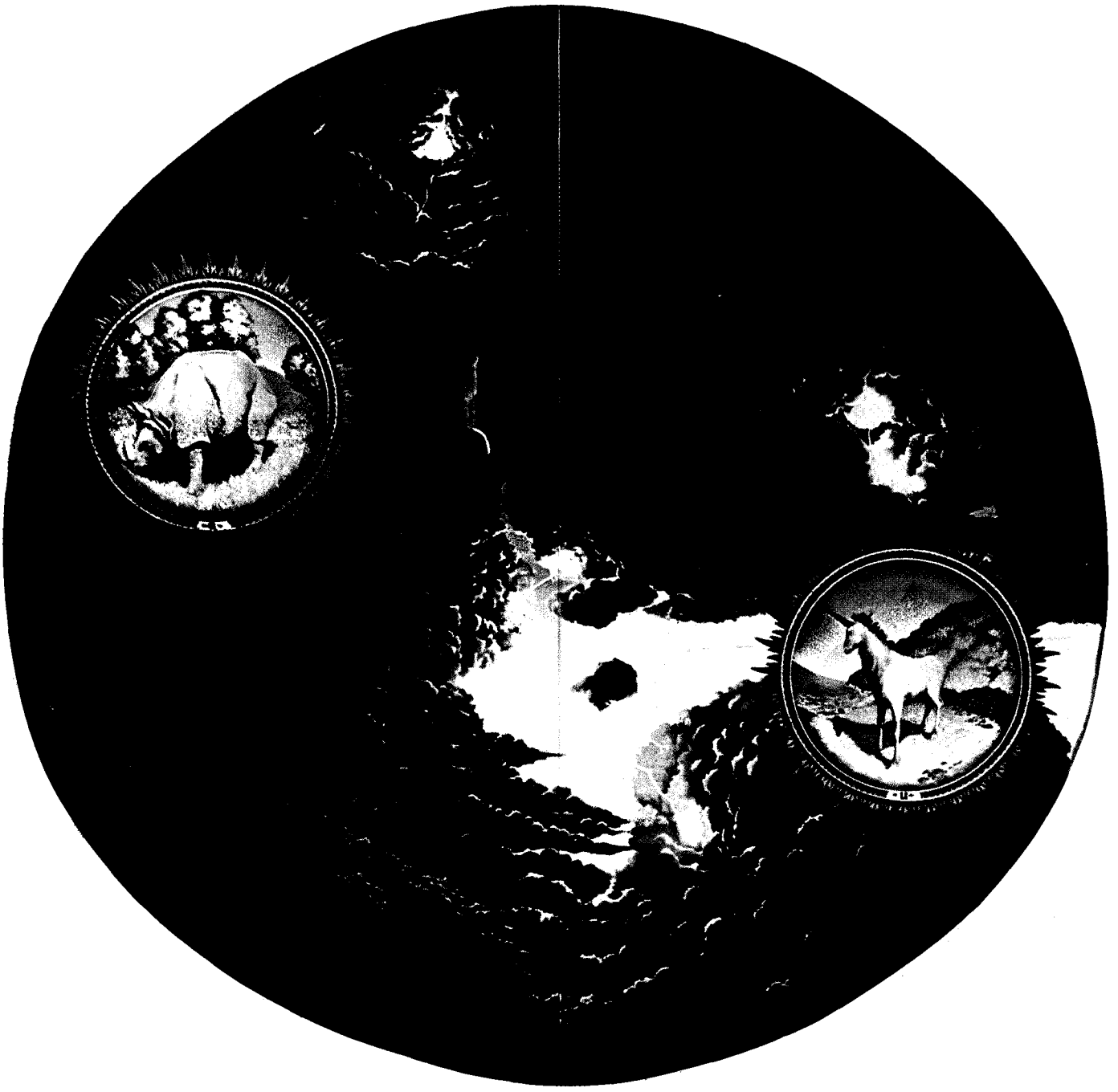

in the air is that people become so exalted by their inner peace that they act as if the world were at peace as well. Then the best social impulses become muddled and misdirected. Reverence for the earth can be revolutionary if one really understands how the earth is being defiled and why. But no one should imagine that by eating organically grown —even communally grown—vegetables, he will help the starving nations locked in a U.S. economic straitjacket. No one should be so stupefied by universal love as to think that some phalanx of amaranthine flowers is going to stop the war machine. And no one should suppose that citizenship in a mythical Woodstock Nation exempts him from responsibility for the real actions of America.

In the world outside of Middle Earth, peace remains a fantasy—although a delightful and inspiring one. It is when the dream of serenity ceases to be merely a respite, and is superimposed upon the world, that we have surrendered ourselves to it. Then the dream fails us, and we will be haunted by the reality. —DAVID KOLODNEY

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BRAZIL

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independent of other countries, especially the United States.

Third, Brazil is now a land of gross inequalities. We are fighting for political, economic and social justice.

Gabeira: We all think that the revolution will be socialist, and at the same time a popular revolution in which all the people will participate.

Dobor: Most important, we believe that we can achieve this program only through arms. We are willing to fight alongside any movement that has taken up arms against the dictatorship and against U.S. imperialism. We are much closer to a priest who is fighting for the freedom of the country than, for example, to a speaker from the Communist Party who likes talking and won't get involved in the fight.

We are a small movement, and we will not take power immediately. But we think that whenever a small group forms and takes up arms, it is very important. One small group is nothing; but we know that people are forming small groups all over the world, and that they will develop into a powerful force which will change the whole situation.

You have all spent a lot of time in the jails. What are they like?

Pezzutti: The regular prisoners are treated much better than the political prisoners, who are kept in small isolated cells 19 hours or more a day. It is very difficult to have visitors, see an attorney or prepare a defense. You are denied access to writing materials, you cannot prepare petitions and you can say nothing about the torture, which the government officially does not acknowledge. It is very bad.

Then the torture continues, despite the publicity and protests?

Pezzutti: All of the people who are here were tortured. Torture is now an institution, a systematic, standard form of interrogation. Usually it is "scientifically" administered, for the purpose of obtaining information. Doctors are present to determine the victim's physical capacity for torture. Nevertheless, the interrogators sometimes get carried away and cannot stop. This has resulted in at least 20 deaths. A political prisoner, when first arrested, is almost invariably tortured. This can go on for a long time; for many people it lasted two months. And whenever the police get some new information they start all over again. I myself was a guinea pig for a class of 100 army sergeants who were being taught the techniques of torture.

The methods include beating; electric shock, often applied to the tongue or genitals; having needles thrust under the fingernails; strangling; and simulated drowning. Women are often stripped and sexually assaulted. Sometimes pincers are applied to their breasts, leaving wounds. Another technique is the "hydraulic" torture, in which water under pressure is inserted in the nose, with the mouth closed, causing choking and ultimately loss of consciousness. The interrogators also make use of "truth serum" drugs during their interrogations.

They have imprisoned families. Do they also torture the children?

Fleury: Among the families freed in exchange for the Japanese consul last March, there was a nine-year-old boy whom they beat savagely in an attempt to get information from his mother. Another case involved a woman with a two-year-old child, whom they dropped from a height while she watched; they would catch him in the nick of time. The smallest of the four children here was present while his parents were being tortured. This is a great trauma for a small child.

Is the United States government involved in any of this?

Dobor: The American involvement in Brazil has become more "rationalized." Since people like less and less to see Americans around, they now train Brazilian officers mainly in the United States, rather than sending Americans to Brazil. We know that many army and police officers, including the torturers, are being trained in the United States. Some have undergone anti-guerrilla training at the U.S. base in Panama. Some have also studied at the FBI academy.

In the interior, another kind of work is done by the Peace Corps. While no doubt many Peace Corps people have much idealism and little comprehension of the situation, the Peace Corps is also infiltrated by agents with other purposes. For example, a university researcher may come "to study social conditions" for the purpose of pinpointing the most politically explosive regions in the interior. U.S. personnel are also busy preparing aerial photography maps of regions of the interior that may become centers of guerrilla activities. We use such American-made maps which we manage to get—they are much better than the Brazilian ones.

Gabeira: Edward Kennedy gave a speech against the Brazilian government, but he did not have the true details of what is going on. The CIA is now sending into Brazil groups to organize small groups of rightists to kill people; they are preparing a military organization among the right wing to fight against us. The CIA agent Chandler was training the right wing. But they have many people. Even U.S. Ambassador Elbrick has said that there are many CIA agents working in Brazil.

What can people in the United States do to help your struggle?

Gabeira: First, you can help isolate the Brazilian dictatorship, expose what they are doing. Second, you can expose and denounce the participation of the U.S. government in the repression in Brazil, in training our torturers. But more important, the fight we are waging will be in many places, even inside the United States. We think that the main contradiction in the world today is not between capitalism and socialism but between the giant monopolies and the people they exploit.

Such organizations as SDS and the organizations of people of color inside the U.S. are part of this struggle because they are oppressed too. Personally, I think that the level of repression in the United States is getting very high, and I am worried about the necessity for the organizations to face this.

What can stop the capacity of the U.S. to intervene is the fight inside the U.S. itself, plus a fight all around the world. I think that one day the force inside the United States will be very important in protecting us. But at the moment, this is not the case.

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The Berkeley Mafia and the Indonesian Massacre

Continued from page 29

[INSTITUTION-BUILDING]

"One of Sukarno's few lasting achievements was the creation of a university system (a rare instance in which foreign aid was put to good use)." —FORTUNE, JUNE 1, 1968

FORD'S INTEREST IN Indonesian education began in the early '50s, but it was the Rockefeller Foundation that had pioneered the area. Just before he left the Far East section of the State Department in 1952 to become the Rockefeller Foundation's president, Dean Rusk explained the purpose behind the program. "Communist aggression" required not only that Americans be trained for work in the Far East, but that "we must open our training facilities for increasing numbers of our friends from across the Pacific."

The head of the Ford Foundation, Paul Hoffman, who launched Ford's program in educational internationalism, was no stranger to the Indonesia situation. As head of the Marshall Plan in Europe, he had cut off Marshall Plan funds, which were vital to the Dutch counter-insurgency effort, and thus assisted the birth of the first pro-U.S. Indonesian government. The Dutch themselves had practiced "indirect rule" in the Indies by simply adding their own administrators to the top of the existing aristocratic-administrative hierarchy (from which Sumitro's PSI was derived). As America supplanted the Dutch, Hoffman's Ford team laid the basis of a post-independence national bureaucracy trained to function under the new indirect rule of America —in Ford's words, to train a "modernizing elite."

"You can't have a modernizing country without a modernizing elite," explains the deputy vice president of Ford's international division, Frank Sutton. "That's one of the reasons we've given a lot of attention to university education." Sutton adds that there's no better place to find such an elite than among "those who stand somewhere in social structures where prestige, leadership, and vested interests matter, as they always do."

With the services it purchased from America's top universities, Ford managed to create a tough, sophisticated infrastructure that reached into every major power institution of Indonesian society. Students selected and molded by the Americans, trained in essential disciplines and skills, became in effect a paragovernment, representing the old PSI-Masjumi parties, but in reality far stronger than they.

FORD LAUNCHED ITS EFFORT to make Indonesia a "modernizing country" in 1954 with field projects out of MIT and Cornell. The scholars produced by these two projects—one in economics, the other in political development—have since effectively dominated the field of Indonesian studies in the United States. Compared to what they eventually produced in Indonesia, however, this was a fairly modest achievement. Working through the Center for International Studies (the CIA-sponsored brainchild of Max Millikan and Walt W. Rostow), Ford put together an MIT team to discover "the causes of economic stagnation in Indonesia." An interesting example of the effort was Guy Pauker's study of "political obstacles" to economic development, such as armed insurgency. Domination of natural and cultural resources by foreign institutions like Ford would be somewhat outside the theoretical framework of Pauker's Harvard training.

In the course of his field work, Pauker—an urbane and egocentric man—got to know the high-ranking officers of the Indonesian Army rather well. He found them "much more impressive" than the politicians. "I was the first who got interested in the role of the military in economic development," Pauker says. He also got to know most of the key civilians: "With the exception of a very small group," Pauker says, they were "almost totally oblivious" to what he called modern development. Not surprisingly, the "very small group" was composed of PSI aristocrat-intellectuals, particularly Sumitro and his students.

Sumitro, in fact, had participated in the MIT team's briefings in Cambridge. Some of Sumitro's students were also known by the MIT team, having attended a CIA-funded annual seminar run each summer at Harvard by Henry Kissinger, now President Nixon's top foreign policy strategist. One of them was Mohamed Sadli, son of a well-to-do *santri* trader, with whom Pauker became good friends. In Djakarta, Pauker had struck up friendships with members of the PSI clan and had formed a political study group among them, whose members included the head of Indonesia's National Planning Bureau, Ali Budiardjo, and his wife Miriam, "Koko's" sister.

Rumanian by birth, Pauker had helped found a group called "Friends of the United States" in Bucharest just after the Second World War. He then came to Harvard, where he got his degree. While many Indonesians have charged the professor with having CIA connections, Pauker denies that he was intimate with the CIA until 1958, after he joined the RAND Corporation. Since then, it is no secret that he briefs and is briefed by the CIA, the Pentagon and the State Department. Highly-placed Washington sources say he is "directly involved in decision-making."

IN 1954 FORD GRUBSTAKED a Cornell Modern Indonesia Project with $224,000. With that money and subsequent Ford funds, program chairman George Kahin has built the social science wing of the Indonesian studies establishment in the United States. In Indonesia, Cornell's elite-oriented studies are what the universities use to teach post-Independence politics and history.

Among the several Indonesians brought to Cornell on Ford and Rockefeller grants, perhaps the most influential is sociologist-politician Selosoemardjan. Selosoemardjan is right-hand man to the Sultan of Jogjakarta, one of the strong-men of the present Indonesian regime.

Kahin's political science group worked closely with Su-

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mitro's Faculty of Economics in Djakarta. "Most of the people at the university came from essentially bourgeois or bureaucratic families," recalls Kahin. "They knew precious little of their society." In a "victory" which speaks poignantly of the illusions of well-meaning liberals out of their depth, Kahin succeeded in prodding them to "get their feet dirty" for three months in a village. Many were to spend four years in the United States.

Together with Widjojo Nitisastro, Sumitro's leading protegé, Kahin set up an Institute to publish the village studies. It has never amounted to much, except that its American advisors helped Ford maintain its contact in the most difficult of the Sukarno days.

Kahin still thinks Cornell's affair with Ford in Indonesia "was a fairly happy marriage"—less for the funding than for the political cover it afforded. "AID funds are relatively easy to get," he explains. "But certainly in Indonesia, anybody working on political problems with [U.S.] government money during this period would have found their problem much more difficult."

Kahin, one of the leading academic Vietnam doves, has irritated the State Department on occasion, and many of his students are far more radical than he. Yet for most Indonesians, Kahin's work was really not that much different from Pauker's. One man went on to teach-ins, the other to RAND and the CIA. But the consequences of their nation-building efforts in Indonesia were much the same.

[BERKELEY EAST]

MIT AND CORNELL MADE contacts, collected data, built up expertise. It was left to Berkeley actually to train most of the key Indonesians who would seize government power to put their pro-American lessons into practice. Dean Sumitro's Faculty of Economics provided a perfect academic boot camp for these political shock troops.

To oversee the project, Ford President Paul Hoffman tapped his old friend Michael Harris, a one-time CIO organizer who had headed Marshall Plan programs under him in France, Sweden and Germany. In the words of one Berkeley professor and close acquaintance, Harris was "a typical Lovestone kind of guy—the labor leader who makes a career out of anti-communist activities working with the government." Harris had been on a Marshall Plan survey in Indonesia in 1951, knew Sumitro, and before going out was extensively briefed by Sumitro's New York promoter, the Indonesian counsel, Delson. Harris reached Djakarta in 1955 and set out to build Dean Sumitro a brand new Ford-funded graduate program in economics.

This time the professional touch and academic respectability were to be provided by Berkeley. The Berkeley team's first task was to replace the Dutch professors whom Sukarno was phasing out and to relieve Sumitro's Indonesian junior faculty so that Ford could send them back to Berkeley for advanced credentials. Already at Berkeley was Sadli, who shared a duplex with MIT's Pauker. Pauker had come to head the new Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies on his way to RAND and the CIA. Sumitro's protegé Widjojo led the first crew out to Berkeley.

WHILE THE INDONESIAN junior faculty learned American economics in Berkeley classrooms, the professors from Berkeley set to turning the Faculty in Djakarta into an American-style school of economics, statistics and business administration.

Sukarno objected. At an annual lecture to the Faculty, team member Bruce Glassburner recalls, Sukarno complained that "all those men can say to me is 'Schumpeter and Keynes.' When I was young I read Marx." Sukarno might grumble and complain, but if he wanted any education at all he would have to take what he got. "When Sukarno threatened to put an end to Western economics," says John Howard, long-time director of Ford's International Training and Research Program, "Ford threatened to cut off all programs, and that changed Sukarno's direction."

The Berkeley staff also joined Sumitro's protegés in the effort to prevent the Faculty's being brought more in line with Sukarno's "socialism" and Indonesian national policy. "We got a lot of pressure through 1958-1959 for 'retooling' the curriculum," Glassburner recalls. "We did some dummying up, you know—we put 'socialism' into as many course titles as we could—but really tried to preserve the academic integrity of the place." A very academic integrity, indeed.

The project, which continued for six years at a cost of $2.5 million, had a clear, if not always stated, purpose. John Howard explains the purpose quite simply: "Ford felt it was training the guys who would be leading the country when Sukarno got out."

There was little chance, of course, that Sumitro's miniscule PSI would outdistance Sukarno at the polls. But "Sumitro felt the PSI group could have influence far out of proportion to their voting strength by putting men in key positions in government," recalls the first project chairman, a feisty Irish business prof named Len Doyle.

When Sumitro went into exile, his university carried on. His students visited him surreptitiously on their way to and from the U.S. Powerful Americans like Harry Goldberg, a lieutenant of labor boss and CIA-coordinator Jay Lovestone, kept in close contact and saw that Sumitro's messages got through to his Indonesian friends. No dean was appointed to replace him; he was the "chairman in absentia."

ALL OF THE UNACADEMIC intrigue caused hardly a ripple of disquiet among the scrupulous professors. A notable exception was the essentially conservative business professor, Doyle.

"I feel that much of the trouble that I had probably stemmed from the fact that I was not as convinced of Sumitro's position as the Ford Foundation representative was, and, in retrospect, probably the CIA," recalls Doyle.

Harris tried to get Doyle to hire "two or three Americans who were close to Sumitro." One was Sumitro's friend from the MIT team, William Hollinger. Doyle refused. "It was clear that Sumitro was going to continue to run the Faculty from Singapore." But it was a game Doyle didn't want to play. "I felt," Doyle explains, "that the University should not be involved in what essentially was becoming a rebellion against the government—whatever sympathy you might have with the rebel cause and the rebel objectives."

Back home, Doyle's lonely defense of academic integrity

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against the political pressures exerted through Ford was not appreciated. Sent there for two years, Berkeley recalled him after one. "He tried to run things," University officials say politely. "We had no choice but to ship him home." In fact, Harris had him bounced. "In my judgment," Harris recalls, "there was a real problem between Doyle and the Faculty."

Ralph Anspach, a Berkeley team member now teaching at San Francisco State, got so fed up with what he saw in Djakarta that he will no longer work in applied economics. "I had the feeling that in the last analysis I was supposed to be a part of this American policy of empire," he says, "bringing in American science, and attitudes, and culture . . . winning over countries—doing this with an awful lot of cocktails and high pay. I just got out of the whole thing."

Doyle and Anspach were the exceptions. Most of the academic professionals found the project—as Ford meant it to be—the beginning of a career. "This was a tremendous break for me," explains Glassburner. "Those three years over there gave me an opportunity to become a certain kind of economist. I had a category—I became a development economist—and I got to know Indonesia. This made a tremendous difference in my career."

Berkeley phased its people out of Djakarta in 1961–62. The running battle between the Ford representative and the Berkeley chairman as to who would run the project had some part in hastening its end. More important, the professors were no longer necessary; in fact, they were probably an increasing political liability. Sumitro's first string had returned with their degrees and resumed control of the school.

The Berkeley team had done its job, "kept the thing alive," Glassburner recalls proudly. "We plugged a hole . . . and with the Ford Foundation's money we trained them 40 or so economists." What did the University get out of it? "Well, some overhead money, you know." And the satisfaction of a job well done.

Part II

[SCHOOL FOR SOLDIERS]

"The marvel is that the modernists have had so much of a chance to steer events. They got in because this military regime, unlike some others in the world, chose to make an alliance with the intellectual and academic community." —FORTUNE, JUNE 1, 1968.

IN 1959, PAUKER SET out the lessons of the PSI's electoral isolation and Sumitro's abortive Outer Islands Rebellion in a widely-read paper entitled "Southeast Asia as a Trouble Area in the Next Decade." Parties like the PSI were "unfit for vigorous competition" with communism, he wrote. "Communism is bound to win in Southeast Asia . . . unless effective countervailing power is found." The "best equipped" countervailing forces, he wrote, were "members of the national officer corps as individuals and the national armies as organizational structures."

From his exile in Singapore, Sumitro concurred, arguing that his PSI and Masjumi parties, which the Army had attacked, were really the Army's "natural allies." Without them, the Army would find itself politically isolated, he said. But to consummate their alliance "the Sukarno regime must be toppled first." Until then, Sumitro warned, the generals should keep "a close and continuous watch" on the growing and powerful Communist peasant organizations. Meanwhile, Sumitro's Ford-scholar protegés in Djakarta began the necessary steps towards a rapprochement.

Fortunately for Ford and its image, the Army had a school: SESKOAD (Army Staff and Command School). Situated 70 miles southeast of Djakarta in cosmopolitan Bandung, SESKOAD was the Indonesian Army nerve center. There, generals decided organizational and political matters; there, senior officers on regular rotation were "upgraded" with manuals and methods picked up at the U.S. command school back in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

When the Berkeley team phased itself out in 1962, Sadli, Widjojo and others from the Faculty began regular trips to Bandung to teach at SESKOAD. Ford's Frank Miller—who replaced Harris in Djakarta and who, like Harris, had worked under Ford President Hoffman in Germany—says that they taught "economic aspects of defense."

PAUKER TELLS A different story. Since the mid-'50s, he had come to know the Army General Staff rather well, first on the MIT team, then on trips for RAND. One good friend was Colonel Suwarto (not to be confused with General Suharto), the deputy commander of SESKOAD and a 1959 Fort Leavenworth graduate. In 1962, Pauker brought him to RAND.

Besides learning "all sorts of things about international affairs" while at RAND, Suwarto also saw how RAND "organizes the academic resources of the country as consultants," Pauker says. According to Pauker, Suwarto had "a new idea" when he returned to Bandung. "The four or five top economists became 'cleared' social scientists lecturing and studying the future political problems of Indonesia in SESKOAD."

In effect, this group became the Army's high-level civilian advisors. They were joined at SESKOAD by other PSI and Masjumi alumni of the university programs—Miriam Budiardjo from Pauker's MIT study group, and Selosoemardjan from Kahin's program at Cornell, as well as senior faculty from the nearby Bandung Institute of Technology, where the University of Kentucky had been "institution-building" for AID since 1957.

The economists were quickly caught up in the generals' anti-communist conspiracy. Lieutenant General Achmad Yani, Army commander-in-chief, had drawn around him a

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"brain trust" of generals. It was an "open secret," says Pauker, that Yani and his brain trust were discussing "contingency plans" which were to "prevent chaos should Sukarno die suddenly." The contribution of Suwarto's mini-RAND, according to Colonel Willis G. Ethel, U.S. defense attaché in Djakarta at the time, was that the professors "would run a course in this contingency planning." Col. Ethel was a close confidant of Commander-in-Chief Yani and others of the Army high command. He even introduced them to golf.

Of course, it wasn't "chaos" the Army planners were worried about, but the PKI. "They weren't about to let the Communists take over the country," Col. Ethel says. Moreover, any but the most dense officer or advisor knew that since there was immense popular support for Sukarno and the PKI, a lot of blood would flow when the showdown came.

Other institutions joined the Ford economists in preparing the military. High-ranking Indonesian officers had begun U.S. training programs in the mid-'50s. By 1965 some 4000 officers had been taught big-scale army command at Fort Leavenworth and counter-insurgency at Fort Bragg. Beginning in 1962, hundreds of visiting officers at Harvard and Syracuse were provided with the skills for maintaining a huge economic, as well as military, establishment, with training in everything from business administration and personnel management to air photography and shipping. AID's "Public Safety Program" in the Philippines and Malaya trained and equipped the Mobile Brigades of the Indonesian military's fourth arm, the police.

WHILE THE ARMY developed expertise and perspective (courtesy of the generous American aid program), it also increased its political and economic influence. Under the martial law declared by Sukarno at the time of the Outer Islands Rebellion, the Army had become the predominant power in Indonesia. Regional commanders took over provincial governments—depriving the Communist PKI of its plurality victories in the 1957 local elections. Fearful of a PKI sweep in the planned 1959 national elections, the generals prevailed on Sukarno to cancel them for six years. Then they moved quickly into the upper reaches of Sukarno's new "guided democracy," increasing the number of ministries under their control right up to the time of the coup. Puzzled by the Army's reluctance to take complete power, journalists called it a "creeping coup d'état." General Nasution termed it the "Middle Way."

The Army also moved into the economy, first taking "supervisory control," then key directorships of the Dutch properties that the PKI unionists had seized "for the people" during the confrontation over West Irian in late 1957. As a result, the generals controlled plantations, small industry, state-owned oil and tin, and the state-run export-import companies, which by 1965 monopolized government purchasing and had branched out into sugar milling, shipping and distribution.

Those high-ranking officers not born into the Indonesian aristocracy quickly married in, and in the countryside they firmed up alliances—often through family ties—with the *santri* Moslem landowners who were the backbone of the Masjumi Party. "The Army and the civil police," wrote Robert Shaplen of the New York Times, "virtually controlled the whole state apparatus." American University's Willard Hanna called it "a new form of government—military-private enterprise."

The economists' "economic aspects of defense" thus became a wide-ranging subject. To make it even broader, the professors undertook preparing post-Sukarno economic policy at SESKOAD, too.

DEPRIVED OF THEIR victory at the polls and unwilling to break with Sukarno, the Communist PKI tried to make a poor best of this "guided democracy," participating with the Army in coalition cabinets. Pauker has described the PKI strategy as "attempting to keep the parliamentary road open," while seeking to come to power by "acclamation." That meant building up PKI prestige as "the only solid, purposeful, disciplined, well-organized, capable political force in the country," to which Indonesians would turn "when all other possible solutions have failed."

By 1963, three million Indonesians, most of them in heavily populated Java, were members of the PKI, and an estimated 17 million were members of its associated organizations in 1963—making it the world's largest Communist Party outside Russia and China. At Independence the party had numbered only 8000.

In December 1963, PKI Chairman D. N. Aidit gave official sanction to "unilateral action" which had been undertaken by the peasants to put into effect a land reform and crop-sharing law already on the books. Though landlords' holdings were not large, less than half of the Indonesian farmers owned the land they worked, and of these, the majority had less than an acre. As the peasants' "unilateral action" gathered momentum, Sukarno, seeing his coalition endangered, tried to check its force by establishing land reform courts which included peasant representatives. But in the countryside, police continued to clash with peasants and made mass arrests. In some areas, *santri* youth groups began murderous attacks on peasants.

Since the Army held state power in most areas, the peasants' "unilateral action" was directed against its authority. Pauker calls it "class struggle in the countryside" and suggests that the PKI had put itself "on a collision course with the Army." But unlike Mao's Communists in pre-revolutionary China, the PKI had no Red Army. Having chosen the parliamentary road, the PKI was stuck with it. In early 1965, PKI leaders demanded that the Sukarno government (in which they were cabinet ministers) create a people's militia—five million armed workers, ten million armed peasants. But Sukarno's power was hollow. The Army had become a state within a state. It was they—and not Sukarno or the PKI—who held the guns.

THE TEST OF STRENGTH came in September 1965. On the night of the 30th, troops under the command of dissident lower-level Army officers, in alliance with officers of the small Indonesian Air Force, assassinated General Yani and five members of his SESKOAD "brain trust." Led by Lt. Colonel Untung, the rebels seized the Djakarta radio station and next morning

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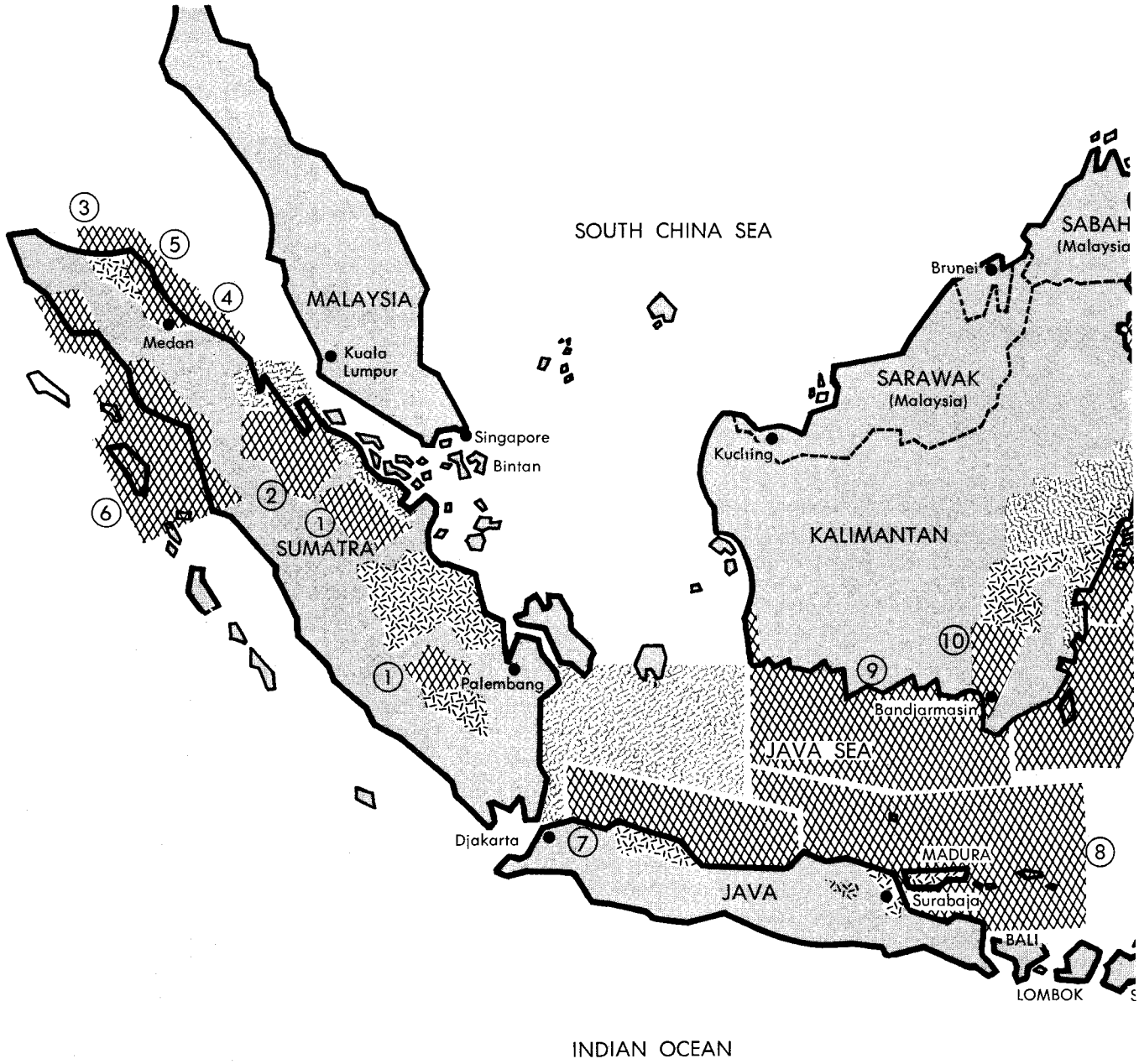
broadcast that their September 30th Movement was directed against the "Council of Generals," which they declared was CIA-sponsored and had itself planned a coup d'état for Armed Forces Day, four days later.

Untung's preventive coup quickly collapsed. Though he did not denounce it, Sukarno, hoping to restore the pre-coup balance of forces, gave it no support; on the other hand, the PKI had prepared no street demonstrations, no strikes, no coordinated uprisings in the countryside. For their part, the dissidents missed assassinating General Nasution and apparently left General Suharto off their list; Suharto rallied the elite paracommandos and units of the West Java division, the Siliwangi, against Untung's colonels. Untung's troops, unsure of themselves, their mission and their loyalties, made no stand as Suharto drove them from their strong-points. It was all over in a day.

The Army high command quickly blamed the Communists for the coup, a line the Western press has followed ever since. Yet the utter lack of activity in the streets and the countryside makes PKI involvement unlikely, and many Indonesia specialists believe, with Dutch scholar W. F. Wertheim, that "the Untung coup was what its leader . . . claimed it to be—an internal army affair reflecting serious tensions between officers of the Central Java Diponegoro Division, and the Supreme Command of the Army in Djakarta . . ."

Leftists, on the other hand, assumed after the ensuing massacres and Sukarno's overthrow that the CIA had a



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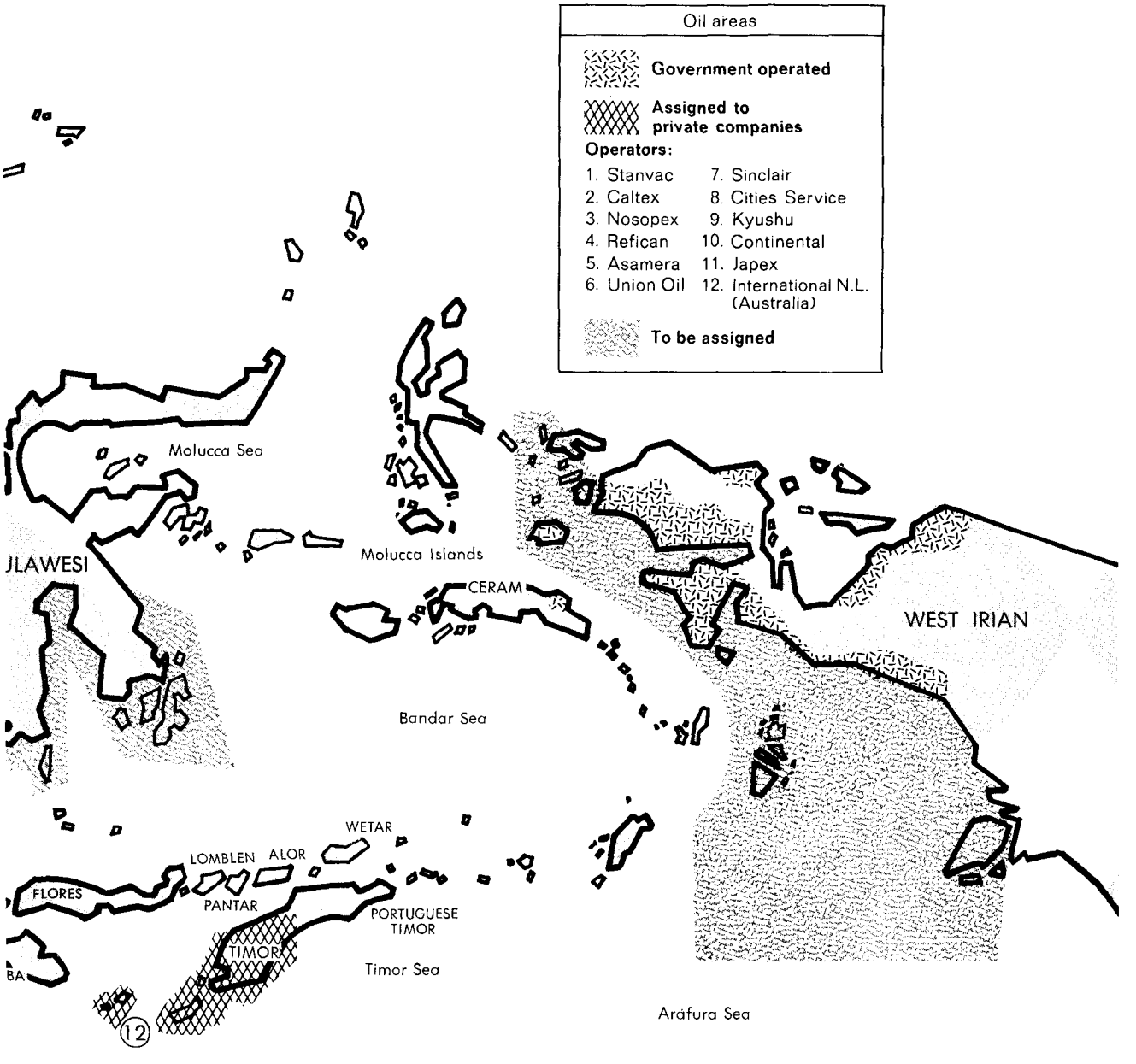
heavy hand in the affair. Indeed, embassy officials had long wined and dined the student *apparatchiks* who rose to lead the demonstrations that brought Sukarno down. And old Indonesia hands casually mention the CIA's connections with the Army, especially with Intelligence Chief Achmed Sukendro, who retrained his agents after 1958 with U.S. help and then studied at the University of Pittsburgh in the early '60s. But Sukendro and most other members of the Indonesian high command were equally close to the embassy's military attachés, who seem to have made Washington's chief contacts with the Army both before and after the attempted coup. And considering the make-up and history of the generals and their "modernist" allies and advisors, it is clear that at this point neither the CIA nor the Pentagon needed to play any more than a subordinate role.

THE PROFESSORS MAY have helped lay out the Army's "contingency" plans, but no one was going to ask them to take to the streets and make the generals' "revolution." Fortunately, they could leave that to their students. Lacking a mass organization, the Army depended on the students to give authenticity and "popular" leadership in the events that followed. It was the students who demanded—and got—Sukarno's head; and it was the students—as propagandists—who carried the cry of *jihad* (religious war) to the villages.

In late October, Brigadier General Sjarif Thajeb—the Harvard-trained Minister of Higher Education—brought student leaders together in his living room to create the Indonesian Student Action Command (KAMI). Many of the KAMI leaders were the older student *apparatchiks* who



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had been courted by the U.S. embassy. Some had traveled to the U.S. as American Field Service exchange students, or on year-long jaunts in a "Foreign Student Leadership Project" sponsored by the U.S. National Student Association in its CIA-fed salad years.

Only months before the coup, U.S. Ambassador Marshall Green had arrived in Djakarta, bringing with him the reputation of having masterminded the student overthrow of Syngman Rhee in Korea and sparking rumors that his purpose in Djakarta was to do the same there. Manuals on student organizing in both Korean and English were supplied by the embassy to KAMI's top leadership soon after the coup.

But KAMI's most militant leadership came from Bandung, where the University of Kentucky had mounted a ten-year "institution-building" program at the Bandung Institute of Technology, sending nearly 500 of their students to the U.S. for training. Students in all of Indonesia's elite universities had been given paramilitary training by the Army in a program for a time advised by an ROTC colonel on leave from Berkeley. Their training was "in anticipation of a Communist attempt to seize the government," writes Harsja Bachtiar, an Indonesian sociologist (alumnus of Cornell and Harvard).

In Bandung, headquarters of the aristocratic Siliwangi division, student paramilitary training was beefed up in the months preceding the coup, and *santri* student leaders were boasting to their Kentucky friends that they were developing organizational contacts with extremist Moslem youth groups in the villages. It was these groups that spearheaded the massacres of PKI followers and peasants.

At the funeral of General Nasution's daughter, mistakenly slain in the Untung coup, Navy chief Eddy Martadinata told *santri* student leaders to "sweep." The message was "that they could go out and clean up the Communists without any hindrance from the military," wrote Christian Science Monitor Asian correspondent John Hughes. "With relish they called out their followers, stuck their knives and pistols in their waistbands, swung their clubs over their shoulders, and embarked on the assignment for which they had long been hoping." For starters, they burnt the PKI headquarters. Thousands of PKI and Sukarno supporters were arrested and imprisoned in Djakarta; cabinet members and parliamentarians were permanently "suspended"; and a purge of the ministries was begun.

On October 17, Col. Sarwo Edhy took his elite paratroops (known as the "red berets") into the PKI's Central Java stronghold in the Bojolali-Klaten-Solo triangle. His assignment, Hughes says, was "the extermination, by whatever means might be necessary, of the core of the Communist Party there." He found he had too few troops. "We decided to encourage the anti-communist civilians to help with the job," he told Monitor correspondent Hughes. "In Solo we gathered together the youth, the nationalist groups, the religious [Moslem] organizations. We gave them two or three days training, then sent them out to kill Communists."

The Bandung engineering students, who had learned from the Kentucky team how to build and operate radio transmitters, were tapped by Col. Edhy's elite corps to set up a multitude of small broadcasting units throughout strongly-PKI East and Central Java, some of which exhorted local fanatics to rise up against the Communists in *jihad*. Providing necessary spare parts for these radios was one of the ways the U.S. embassy found of helping the generals' anti-communist pogrom that followed.

Time magazine described the slaughter in Java in mid-December 1965: "Communists, Red sympathizers and their families are being massacred by the thousands. Backlands army units are reported to have executed thousands of Communists after interrogation in remote jails. . . . Armed with wide-blade knives called *parangs,* Moslem bands crept at night into the homes of Communists, killing entire families and burying the bodies in shallow graves. . . . The murder campaign became so brazen in parts of rural East Java, that Moslem bands placed the heads of victims on poles and paraded them through villages. The killings have been on such a scale that the disposal of the corpses has created a serious sanitation problem in East Java and Northern Sumatra, where the humid air bears the reek of decaying flesh. Travelers from these areas tell of small rivers and streams that have been literally clogged with bodies; river transportation has at places been seriously impeded."

Graduate students from Bandung and Djakarta were dragooned by the Army to research the number dead. Their report, never made public, but leaked by correspondent Frank Palmos—something of an insider—estimated a million victims. "In the PKI 'triangle stronghold' of Bojolali, Klaten, and Solo," Palmos said they reported, "nearly one third of the population is dead or missing." Most observers think their estimate high, positing a death toll of 3-500,000.

The KAMI students' most important task was bringing life in Djakarta to a standstill with anti-Communist, anti-Sukarno demonstrations whenever necessary. By January, with Col. Edhy back in Djakarta addressing KAMI rallies, his elite corps providing KAMI with trucks, loudspeakers and protection, KAMI demonstrators could tie up the city at will.

"The ideas that Communism was public enemy number one, that Communist China was no longer a close friend but a menace to the security of the state, and that there was corruption and inefficiency in the upper levels of the national government were introduced on the streets of Djakarta," says Bachtiar, whose scholarly output includes recording these activities.

The old PSI and Masjumi leaders nurtured by Ford and its professors were home at last. They gave the students advice and money, while the PSI-oriented professors maintained "close advisory relationships" with the students, later forming their own Indonesian Scholars Action Command (KASI). One of the economists, Emil Salim, recently returned with a Berkeley PhD, was counted among the KAMI leadership. Salim's father had purged the Communist wing of the major pre-war nationalist organization, and then served in the pre-Independence Masjumi cabinets.

In January the economists made Djakarta headlines with a week-long Economic and Financial Seminar at the Faculty. "Principally . . . a demonstration of solidarity among the members of KAMI, the anti-Communist intellectuals, and the leadership of the Army," Bachtiar says, the seminar heard papers from Gen. Nasution, Adam Malik

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and others who "presented themselves as a counter-elite challenging the competence and legitimacy of the elite led by President Sukarno."

It was Djakarta's post-coup introduction to Ford's economic policies.

IN MARCH SUHARTO stripped Sukarno of formal power and had himself named Acting President, tapping old political warhorse Adam Malik and the Sultan of Jogjakarta to join him in a ruling triumvirate. The generals whom the economists had known best as SESKOAD—Yani and his brain trust—had all been killed. But with the help of Kahin's protegé, Selosoemardjan, they first caught the Sultan's and then Suharto's ear, persuading them that the Americans would demand a strong attack on inflation and a swift return to a "market economy." On April 12, the Sultan issued a major policy statement outlining the economic program of the new regime—in effect announcing Indonesia's return to the imperialist fold. It was written by Widjojo and Sadli.

In working out the subsequent details of the Sultan's program, the economists got aid from the expected source. When Widjojo got stuck in drawing up a stabilization plan, AID brought in Harvard economist Dave Cole, fresh from writing South Korea's banking regulations, to provide him with a draft. Sadli, too, required some post-doctoral tutoring. According to an American official, Sadli "really didn't know how to write an investment law. He had to have a lot of help from the embassy." It was a team effort. "We were all working together at the time—the 'economists,' the American economists, AID," remembers Calvin Cowles, the first AID man on the scene.

By early September the economists had their plans drafted and the generals convinced of their usefulness. After a series of crash seminars at SESKOAD, Suharto named the Faculty's five top men (the "Berkeley Mafia") his Team of Experts for Economic and Financial Affairs, an idea Ford man Frank Miller claims as his own.

Armed with Sadli's January 10, 1967, investment law, the economists could put on their old school ties and play host to the lords of the great American corporations. In August the Stanford Research Institute—a spin-off of the university-military-industrial complex—brought 170 "senior executives" to Djakarta for a three-day parley and look-see. "The Indonesians have cut out the cancer that was destroying their economy," an SRI executive later reported approvingly. Then, urging that big business invest heavily in Suharto's future, he warned that "military solutions are infinitely more costly."

In November, Malik, Sadli, Salim, Selosoemardjan and the Sultan met in Geneva with a select list of American and European businessmen flown in by Time-Life. Surrounded by his economic advisors, the Sultan ticked off the selling-points of the New Indonesia—"political stability . . . abundance of cheap labor . . . vast potential market . . . treasurehouse of resources." The universities, he added, have produced a "large number of trained individuals who will be happy to serve in new economic enterprises."

David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, thanked Time-Life for the chance to get acquainted with "Indonesia's top economic team." He was impressed, he said, by their "high quality of education."

Photograph by Black Star

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Part III

[HARVARD: BRINGING IT ALL BACK HOME]

"We couldn't have drawn up a more ideal scenario than what happened. All of those people simply moved into the government and took over the management of economic affairs, and then they asked us to continue working with them."

—GUS PAPANEK, CHIEF OF THE HARVARD DEVELOPMENT ADVISORY SERVICE

TO SOME EXTENT, we are witnessing the return of the pragmatic outlook which was characteristic of the PSI-Masjumi coalition of the early Fifties when Sumitro . . . dominated the scene," observed a well-placed insider in 1966. That same year, Sumitro slipped quietly into Djakarta, opened a business consultancy and prepared himself for high office. The prospect was not long in coming. Having received its bona fides from the lords of international finance, the Indonesian generals' regime was ready to name its "Development Cabinet." In June 1968 Suharto organized an impromptu reunion for the class of Ford, known in Djakarta as the "Berkeley Mafia." As Minister of Trade and Commerce he appointed Dean Sumitro (PhD, Rotterdam); as Chairman of the National Planning Board he appointed Widjojo (PhD, Berkeley, 1961); as Vice Chairman, Emil Salim (PhD, Berkeley, 1964); as Secretary General of Marketing and Trade Research, Subroto (Harvard, 1964); as Minister of Finance, Ali Wardhana (PhD, Berkeley, 1962); as Chairman of the Technical Team of Foreign Investment, Mohamed Sadli (MS, MIT, 1956); as Secretary General of Industry, Barli Halim (MBA, Berkeley, 1959). "Koko" Soedjatmoko, who had been functioning as Malik's advisor, became ambassador in Washington.

"We consider that we were training ourselves for this," Sadli told a reporter from Fortune—"a historic opportunity to fix the course of events." To make the most of the opportunity, Ford provided the Indonesians with a post-graduation present—a development team from Harvard.

Since 1954, Harvard's Development Advisory Service (DAS), the Ford-funded elite corps of international modernizers, had brought Ford influence to the national planning agencies of Pakistan, Greece, Argentina, Liberia, Colombia, Malaysia and Ghana. Officially the Harvard-DAS Indonesia project began July 1, 1968, but DAS head Gus Papanek had people in the field well before that, joining with AID's Cal Cowles in bringing back the old Indonesia hands of the '50s and '60s. Dave Cole returned to work with Widjojo on the Ford/Harvard payroll. Leon Mears, the agricultural economist who had learned Indonesian rice-marketing in the Berkeley project, came for AID and stayed on for Harvard. Sumitro's old buddy from MIT, Bill Hollinger, transferred from the DAS-Liberia project and now shares Sumitro's office in the Ministry of Trade.

The Harvard people are "advisors," explains DAS Deputy Director Lester Gordon—"foreign advisors who don't have to deal with all the paperwork and have time to come up with new ideas." They work "as employees of the government would," he says, "but in such a way that it doesn't get out that the foreigners are doing it." Indiscretions got them bounced from Pakistan. "We stay in the background."

They stayed in the background for the five-year plan. In the winter of 1967–68, a good harvest and a critical infusion of U.S. "Food for Peace" rice had kept prices down, cooling the political situation for a time. Hollinger, the DAS's first full-time man on the scene, arrived in March and helped the economists lay out the plan's strategy. As the other DAS technocrats arrived, they went to work on its planks. "Did we cause it, did the Ford Foundation cause it, did the Indonesians cause it?" asks AID's Cal Cowles rhetorically. "I don't know."

THE PLAN WENT INTO FORCE without fanfare in January 1969. With its key elements being foreign investments and agricultural self-sufficiency, it is a late-20th century American "development" plan that sounds suspiciously like the mid-19th century Dutch colonial strategy. Then, Indonesian labor—often *corvée*—substituted for Dutch capital in building the roads and digging the irrigation ditches necessary to create a plantation economy for Dutch capitalists, while a "modern" agricultural technology increased the output of Javanese paddies to keep pace with the expanding population. The plan brought an industrial renaissance to the Netherlands, but only an expanding misery to Indonesia.

As in the Dutch strategy, the Ford scholars' five-year plan introduces a "modern" agricultural technology—the so-called "green revolution" of high-yield hybrid rice—to keep pace with Indonesian rural population growth and to avoid "explosive" change in Indonesian social—i.e., class—relationships.

Probably it will do neither, though AID is currently supporting a project at Berkeley's Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies to give it the old college try. Negotiated with Harsja Bachtiar, the Harvard-trained sociologist now heading the Faculty's Ford-funded research institute, the project is to train Indonesian sociologists to "modernize" relations between the peasantry and the Army's state power.

The agricultural plan is being implemented by the central government's agricultural extension service, whose top men were trained by a University of Kentucky program at the Bogor Agricultural Institute. In effect, the agricultural agents have been given a monopoly in the sale of seed and the buying of rice, which puts them in a natural alliance with the local military commanders—who often control the rice transport business—and the local *santri* landlords whose higher returns are being used to quickly expand their holdings. The peasants find themselves on the short end of the stick, but if they raise a ruckus they are sabotaging a national program and must be PKI agents, and the soldiers are called in.

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THE INDONESIAN RULING class, observes Dutch scholar Wertheim, is now "openly waging [its] own brand of class struggle." It is a struggle the Harvard technocrats must "modernize." Economically the issue is Indonesia's widespread unemployment; politically it is Suharto's need to legitimize his power through elections. "The government . . . will have to do better than just avoiding chaos if Suharto is going to be popularly elected," Papanek reported in October 1968: "A really widespread public works program, financed by increased imports of PL480 ["Food for Peace"] commodities sold at lower prices, could provide quick economic and political benefits in the countryside."

Harvard is pushing its Indonesian New Deal with a "rural development" program that will further strengthen the hand of the local Army commanders. Supplying funds meant for labor-intensive public works, the program is supposed to increase local autonomy by working through local authorities. The money will merely line military pockets. DAS Director Papanek admits that the program is "civilian only in a very broad sense, because many of the local administrators are military people." And the military has two very large, and rather cheap, labor forces which are already at work in "rural development."

One is the 300,000-man Army itself. The other is composed of the 120,000 political prisoners still being held after the Army's 1965–66 anti-Communist sweeps. Some observers estimate there are twice as many prisoners, most of whom the Army admits were not PKI members, though they fear they may have *become* Communists in the concentration camps.

Despite the abundance of "Food for Peace" rice for other purposes, there is none for the prisoners, for whom the government's daily food expenditure is slightly more than a penny. At least two journalists have reported on Sumatran prisoners quartered in the middle of a Goodyear rubber plantation where they had worked before the massacres as members of a PKI union. Now, the correspondents report, they daily work its trees for the substandard wages paid to their guards.

In Java the Army uses the prisoners in public works. Australian professor Herbert Feith was shown around one Javanese town in 1968 where prisoners had built the prosecutor's house, the high school, the mosque, and (in process) the Catholic church. "It is not really hard to get work out of them if you push them," he was told.

Just as they are afraid and unwilling to free the prisoners, so the generals are afraid to demobilize the troops. "You can't add to the unemployment," explained an Indonesia desk man at the State Department, "especially with people who know how to shoot a gun." Consequently, the troops are being worked more and more into the infrastructure labor force—to which the Pentagon is providing roadbuilding equipment and advisors.

BUT IT IS THE FOREIGN investment plank of the five-year plan that is the pay-off of Ford's 20-year-long strategy in Indonesia and the pot of gold that the Ford modernizers—both American and Indonesian—are paid to protect. The 19th century Colonial Dutch strategy built an agricultural export economy. But the Americans are interested primarily in resources, mainly mineral.

Freeport Sulphur will mine copper on West Irian. International Nickel has got the Celebes' nickel. Alcoa is negotiating for most of Indonesia's bauxite. Weyerhaeuser, International Paper, Boise Cascade and Japanese, Korean and Filipino lumber companies will cut down the huge tropical forests of Sumatra, West Irian and Kalimantan (Borneo). A U.S.-European consortium of mining giants, headed by U.S. Steel, will mine West Irian's nickel. Two others, U.S.-British and U.S.-Australian, will mine tin. A fourth, U.S.-New Zealander, is contemplating Indonesian caoline. The Japanese will take home the archipelago's shrimp and tuna and dive for her pearls.

Another unmined resource is Indonesia's 120 million inhabitants—half of the people in Southeast Asia. "Indonesia today," boasts a California electronics manufacturer now operating his assembly lines in Djakarta, "has the world's largest untapped pool of capable assembly labor at a modest cost." The cost is ten cents a day.

But the real prize is oil. During one week in 1969, 23 companies, 19 of them American, bid for the right to explore and bring to market the oil beneath the Java Sea and Indonesia's other coastal waters. In one 21,000-square-mile concession off Java's northeast coast, Natomas and Atlantic-Richfield are already bringing in oil. Other companies with contracts signed have watched their stocks soar in speculative orgies rivaling those following the Alaskan North Slope discoveries.

Ford, like an over-attentive mother, is sponsoring a new Berkeley project at the U.C. law school in "developing human resources for the handling of negotiations with foreign investors in Indonesia."

MEANWHILE IN Indonesia, the "chaos" that Ford and its modernizers are forever preventing is once more gathering force. Late last year, troops from West Java's crack Siliwangi division rounded up 5000 surprised and sullen villagers in an odd military exercise that speaks more of Suharto's fears than of Indonesia's political "stability." Billed as a test in "area management," officers told reporters that it was an exercise in preventing a "potential fifth column" in the once heavily-PKI area from linking up with an imaginary invader. But the Army got no cheers as it passed through the villages, an Australian reporter wrote. "To an innocent eye from another planet it would have seemed that the Siliwangi division was an army of occupation."

There is no more talk about land reform or arming the people in Indonesia now. But the silence is eloquent. In the Javanese villages where the PKI was strong before the pogrom, now landlords and officers fear going out after dark. Those who do so are sometimes found in the morning with their throats cut. The generals mutter about "night PKI."

David Ransom, a member of the Pacific Studies Center, is currently at work on a book on Indonesia. His views do not necessarily represent those of the Center.

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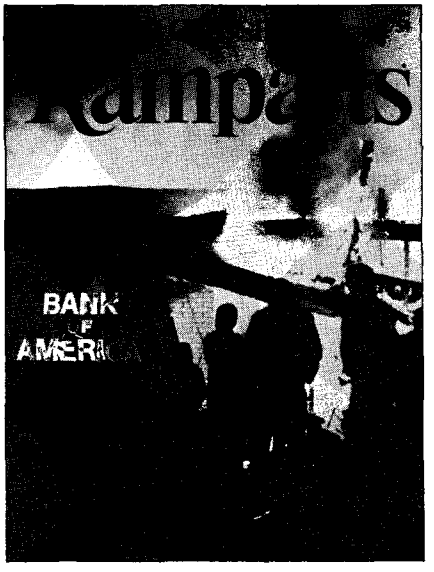
Back-of-the-Book

Letters:



[DIRECTOR RESIGNS]

TO THE EDITORS: RAMPARTS has not been my favorite magazine for some time. Nevertheless, when it was in desperate financial straits I helped to rescue it and keep it alive. I confess to being unashamedly a liberal. I have always been impressed by the thought of Justice O. W. Holmes, Jr., that "time has upset many fighting faiths" and that our country at its best and deepest level has believed even more than we have believed [in] the very foundations of our own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas. For that reason, I felt it was important to the maintenance of that competition to have in existence a large-circulation left-oriented magazine which would be open to a variety of unpopular and radical ideas. Striving to catch and hold the public eye, you have opened our minds to the obscenities of power, to the economic self-interest of powerful groups that control the seats of decision-making. At other times, you have blurred issues by inaccuracies and half-truths in order to take advantage of immediate opportunities to make a point.

The cover of your issue on ecology [May 1970] to a large degree vitiated the thoughtfulness of its contents. It encouraged students to believe that burning banks would do as much for ecology as teach-ins. I wonder what evidence you have for such a belief. The burning evidently did convince Mr. Lundborg to testify against the war for two hours because it was bad for business. Other revolutionary effects I have not seen, nor, so far as I can judge, were they intended by the students, who were affluent, alienated, bored, restless, and fed up over a local issue. What the bombings and trashings have done is to raise a further false issue for the radical right, the super-patriots of the working class and their political representatives to exploit.

Now I have at hand your editorial on Tom Hayden's book [July 1970]. In it you state that revolution is no longer utopian but a real political alternative, that the system "cannot be revitalized [but] must be overthrown. As humanely as possible, but by any means necessary"—led by the students.

That statement in my view is irresponsible and can only lead to dangerous escalation of your already inflated rhetoric. I don't know what you mean by it, and I suspect you don't either, but there are innocent young people who will read in it a sanctification for their wild flailing and bitterness. I suspect that any true revolutionary judges the context of the time and the possibilities more shrewdly. Our nation's system has at its disposal enormous reservoirs of brute power and military might. That factor alone differentiates it from Third World situations as far as home-grown revolution is concerned.

It is true that we live in revolutionary times and that profound change is needed; I, for one, as a liberal, do believe that institutional change and new institutions must be initiated. I am not just interested in the same old electoral process, nor do I have any illusions that the electoral process alone will save the country, but I am not about to throw out the electoral process mindlessly for that reason. Congress is moving toward a profound constitutional crisis as it seeks to reassert its prerogatives over the war-making power of the country. It is ridiculous to dismiss this struggle as of no account. I sense that the reassertion of the need to overthrow the government reflects as much the failure of the New Left to solve its own internal politics as it does the profound frustration we all feel because power seems so unresponsive to all the pressure.

As a nation we have a penchant for the apocalyptic. We are a melting-pot in search of some unifying theme. So often we get it by some scapegoat to blame everything on. What the times call for, though, is a coolness that is not without an underlying determination and passion for change, a discipline and a love and openness to all men of good will. I would argue that if profound change is to come, the necessary means will continue to be nonviolent except in self-defense situations. It would seem that you do not. In view of this divergence of fundamental point of view, I am going to ask you to remove me from the Board of Directors. I wish you well but we must for now part company.

—EDGAR LOCKWOOD

[REPLY BY THE EDITORS]

DEAR TED: We are printing (and answering) your letter of resignation in the pages of RAMPARTS, not only because you requested this courtesy, but because we feel that your views are in one way or another characteristic of those of many of your generation and liberal persuasion who, in the face of the deepening social crisis and oncoming repression, are allowing themselves to be divided from those younger, more radical generations struggling for social

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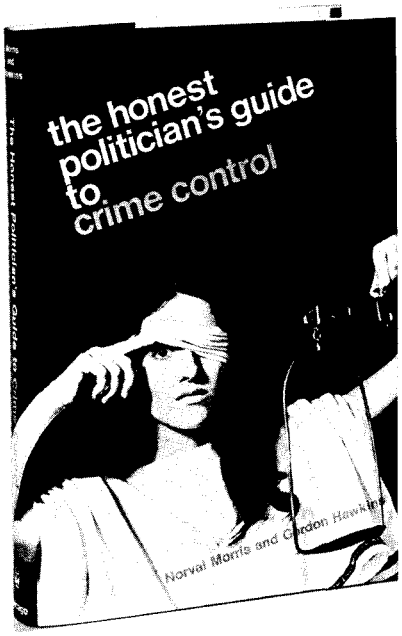

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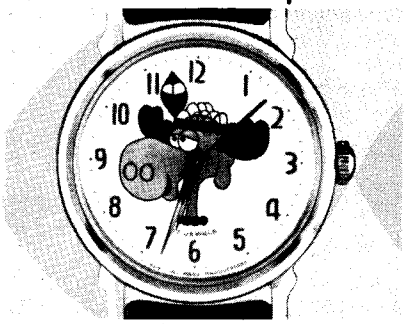

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sanity and change. Such divisions weaken the only forces that stand between America (and mankind) and unthinkable catastrophe. It is in all of our interests, therefore, that the breach be healed; it is in none of our interests, however, that the healing should weaken even further the forces of resistance to war, racism, sexism and repression. And this, it seems, is the central issue between us.

To begin with, you are too modest in describing your financial role in helping RAMPARTS. In 1969, RAMPARTS was dead as a corporation and had ceased publishing. You were one of four individuals who together put up $200,000 in cash to make it possible for RAMPARTS to live again. You describe yourself as a liberal. You note that you have not especially liked RAMPARTS for a long time, but helped to rescue it because you believed that the very foundations of our conduct as a nation lie in the belief that "the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas"; you therefore felt "it was important to the maintenance of that competition to have in existence a large-circulation left-oriented magazine which would be open to a variety of unpopular and radical ideas."

Now you have drawn a line at the point where apparently the (always implicit) limits on the "free trade in ideas" have been overreached. This free market turns out to be, like many others, merely a reassuring myth.

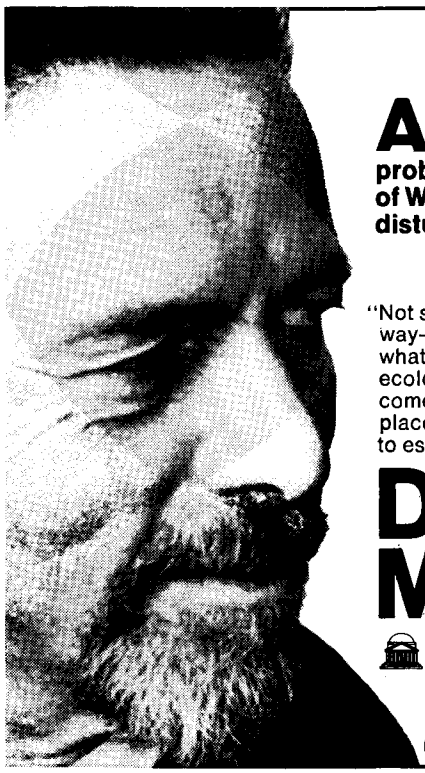
You will appreciate that for us your inconsistency is not academic, since it has resulted in the severing of a vital financial lifeline to RAMPARTS. It confirms our experience that insofar as ideas *are* freely traded and propagated in present-day America, they are so either as a result of political mobilization and pressure or because of the sufferance of established privilege and power—partly juridical, but mainly financial. In short, ideas that money supports are generally heard; those that money finds offensive or irresponsible languish for want of a powerful and costly public voice.

"Irresponsibility" seems to sum up your case against us and to justify your withdrawal from RAMPARTS' struggle to survive. We ran a cover with a photograph of the Bank of America burning and a cover line which you complain "encouraged students to believe that burning banks would do as much for ecology as teach-ins."

Our cover referred to a specific set of "Earth Day" teach-ins which carried a particular false and deceptive message, in contrast to the Vietnam teach-ins, which worked powerfully to make people aware of the truth of that war.

For us the test of a political tactic, violent or non-violent, is whether it can be understood and supported by large numbers of people, whether it leads to heightened political consciousness, and therefore really advances their struggle for liberation. Does it mobilize large numbers of people toward their freedom, or does it disorient and demoralize them? These are the questions that determine the *political* morality of a given action. They are hard questions, and not to be taken lightly—whatever kind of action is to be considered.

That is how we judged the act of outrage depicted on our cover—outrage against an institution which bears heavy responsibility for the crisis of ecology, as well as for the war in Viet-



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nam and racial oppression in America.

In our editorial in that issue we characterized the burning of the Bank of America's Isla Vista branch as a justified gesture of rage against the continuing rape of that community and the interminable murder in Southeast Asia. We did not, on the other hand, equate it with a program for solving the crisis. "Burning a bank," we pointed out, "is not the same as putting the banks and their system out of business. To do that, millions of people in this country will first have to wake up to the real source of their misery. The action in Santa Barbara, a community which has seen its environment destroyed by corporate greed, might spark that awakening. *If* it does, the students who burned the Bank of America in Santa Barbara will have done more to save the environment than all the Survival Faires and 'Earth Day Teach-Ins' put together."

In your letter you also attack our alleged irresponsibility in portraying revolution as a real political alternative in America, a statement which we made in explaining our decision to devote an entire issue of RAMPARTS to Tom Hayden's book, *The Trial*. In your view, given the present political context in America it is simply irresponsible to encourage young people to think seriously about devoting their political energies to profound political and social transformation, if that transformation entails the prospect of general social conflict and upheaval (and if the transformation is profound, it certainly must entail these consequences).

Far from being frivolous, as you suggest, the view that the present American crisis could develop into a far-reaching social upheaval is held not only by us but by some of the most "responsible" political figures around —by, for instance, McGeorge Bundy, who was in charge of national security affairs in both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and who has no reason to exaggerate the potential of domestic radicalism. After the student general strike protesting the Cambodian intervention (i.e., just about the time our editorial was written), Bundy was quoted by the New York Times as saying: "The point is, quite simply, that any major action of this general sort, if undertaken in the same fashion as the Cambodian decision—now that the domestic effects of that decision are visible—would tear the country and the administration to pieces. At the very least the Congress would stop money for the war, and the chances of general domestic upheaval would be real."

The fact that such an upheaval is feared by the managers of the U.S. empire is in itself a tremendously significant factor in discouraging future escalations and new Vietnams. To strike fear into the hearts of the system's guardians has by now proved itself to be the only way of forcing politicians to that minimal constitutional response which you recommend as so important in your letter. It is indeed *revolutionary* politics that has turned out to be realistic and practical even in the short-run. For where have the hopes for liberal reform brought us? This was the gist of our editorial, as well as Hayden's analysis: to project *reform* within the present system and within the present framework of political options as a real political alternative to the present rush towards destruction—*that* is the height of irre-

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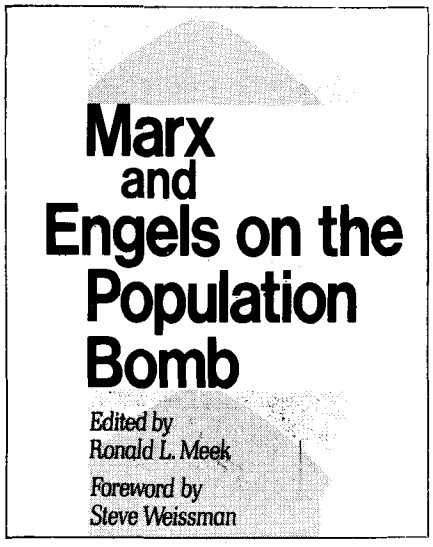
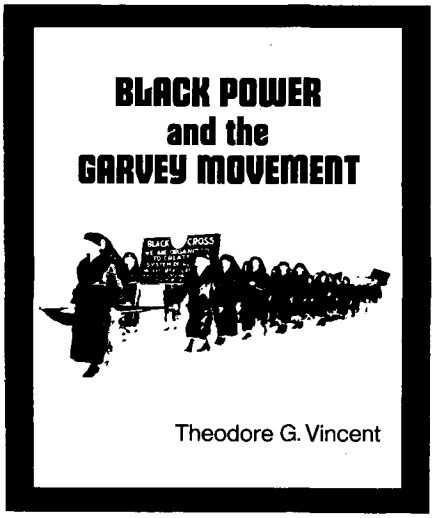
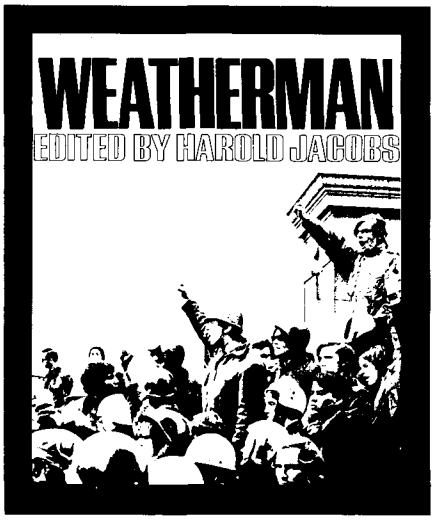


The battle against population control has been raging ever since Malthus published his Essay on Population in 1798. The bitter criticisms of Marx and Engels, as gathered here by R. L. Meek, have a striking relevance today. October.



In this, the first major work on Marcus Garvey and his Universal Negro Improvement Association in twenty years, Theodore Vincent offers a thorough re-evaluation of Garvey's contribution to the development of black nationalist and black power movements in the United States. And, in tracing the rise and fall of the UNIA, Vincent uncovers some remarkable "hidden history." October.



The first complete picture of Weatherman in the words of those who theorized, those who acted and those who watched it all—from the SDS split in June of 1969 to the bombings in June, 1970. Selected by Harold Jacobs, who provides his own analysis, the book includes the original Weather-statement, photographs of Weatherman actions, and articles by Eldridge Cleaver, Tom Hayden, Andrew Kopkind, David Horowitz, Carl Oglesby, I. F. Stone, Bernadine Dohrn and many more. September.

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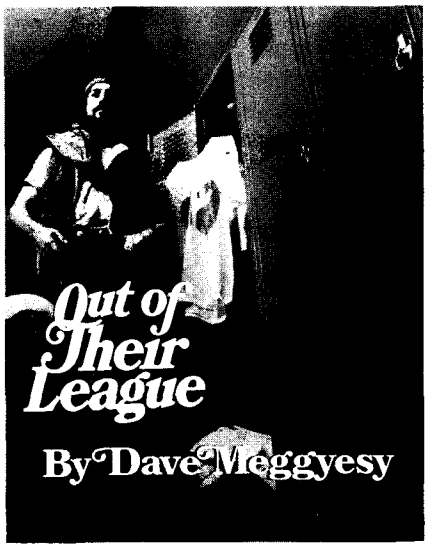
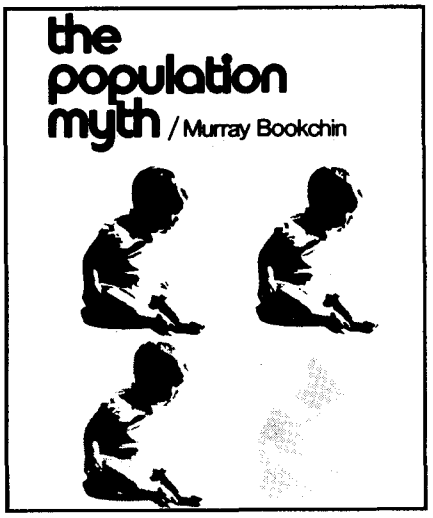
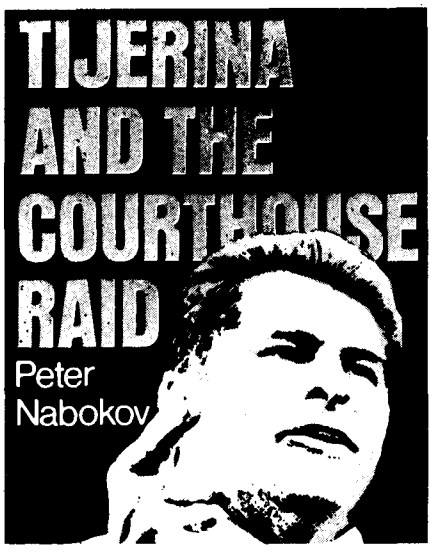


Dave Meggyesy writes about football and the American way with all the power he brought to seven years of professional play. He describes the dehumanizing quality of the game — the payoffs and painkillers, brutality and racism — from high school through the pros, and his own growing awareness that the game reflects much of what is wrong with life in America today. Dave's understanding led him to quit this June, at the height of his career; his insights will open the eyes of fans and non-fans alike. October.



A new coterie of experts is holding forth on the threat of "people as pollution" and warning of catastrophe unless birth control programs are imposed. Murray Bookchin challenges this anti-human analysis and shows that population problems can only be considered within the context of social change, that ecology action must be social action or it is doomed to fail. Nov.



With their stunning raid on a New Mexico courthouse in mid-1967, Reies Tijerina and his followers made all the world aware of Chicano demands for the return of land. Peter Nabokov describes the causes and effects of that raid. October.

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sponsibility. It can only be willful self-deception in the light of recent history.

For the destructive forces which now seem ready to engulf not only America, but through America mankind as well, all took root and were built up in the course of more than three decades of liberal Democratic reform governments. It was Wilsonian and Rooseveltian Democrats who created the military-industrial complex; it was the "Fair Deal" Truman Administration that launched America's global imperial crusade; and it was Kennedy's "New Frontier" that put international intervention and counterinsurgency on a computerized basis. And it was the liberal Democratic Party, built on a racist alliance with the heirs to the Southern slavocracy, which left us with a legacy of racism and domestic imperialism that may yet lead to open racial warfare. The most sincere liberalism, which cautions us in the name of prudence and experience, seems incapable of learning from its own repeated failures.

The young, who have begun to break from the lethal politics of the modern American Democratic and Corporate Liberal era, cannot be asked to subordinate the development of a truly revolutionary movement (independent in organization, revolutionary in conception) to the exigencies of pressure politics. What is wanted now is a program and politics independent of those forces which have labored so hard, by compromise and collusion, to give birth to the present social catastrophe.

We believe that printing Tom Hayden's *The Trial* was a tentative step in the direction of such a politics and the building of such a consciousness. We are aware that the powers that reactionary America has at its disposal are awesome. But we have a responsibility not to be deterred by this. Because we also know that American power is not only not going to reform itself; if left unchallenged, it will sooner, rather than later, bring the roof down on us all. Finally, we have seen in Vietnam, and across U.S. campuses last spring, that the imperial power, however massive, is deeply flawed, and that without sustained popular support, its strength is ultimately illusion. In the last analysis, as Huey Newton would say, the spirit of the people is greater than the Man's technology. It is our task to nurture and develop that power, and to direct it towards the conquest of its own destiny. To condition our tactics in accordance with the real forces of society, is our responsibility. But to falter or hold back, from fear, while a whole nation is being obliterated in Asia would not merely be failure; it would be betrayal—of Vietnam's future, and our own.

—THE EDITORS

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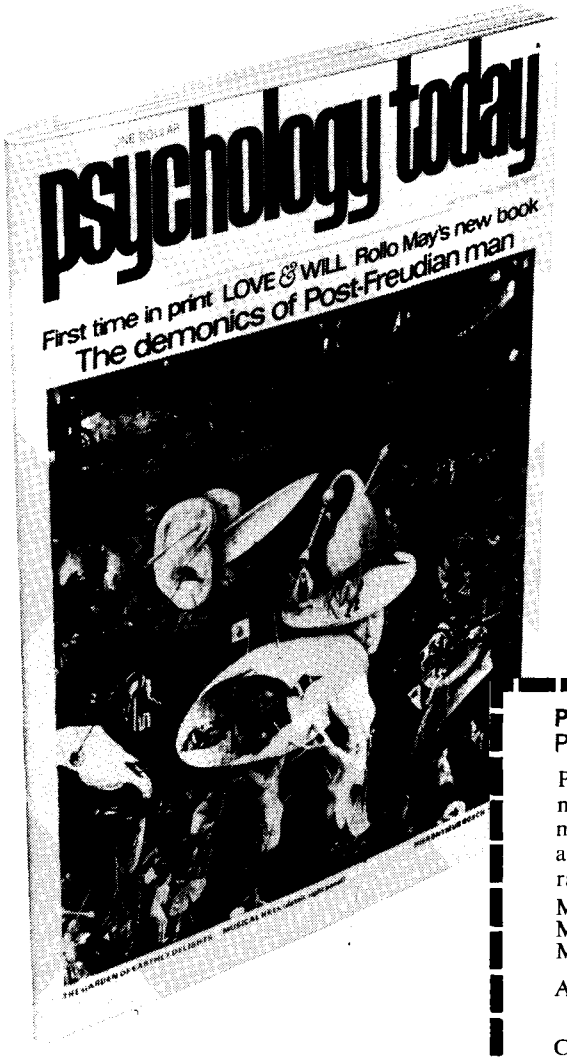

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Movies:
Woodstock: The Four-Dollar Revolution

WOODSTOCK. *Warner Brothers and Wadleigh-Maurice Productions. Color; three hours. Admission $4.00. Directed by Michael Wadleigh.*

ACCORDING TO ALL recorded accounts, the Woodstock Music and Art Fair, held August 15-17, 1969, in Bethel, New York, was the biggest and grooviest youth jamboree the world has ever known. "No one who was there will ever be the same" was the theme of responsible and irresponsible journalism alike for weeks following, and is now the key line in the coordinated promotion of a variety of fallout products, from emblazoned T-shirts (sold as far away as Paris) to this movie. The White Panthers and other hip radical groups have organized a boycott against the film on the grounds that it is a culture rip-off; this assumes that Woodstock was "ours" because we went there, the same way we assume rock is ours because we listen to it, and that all longhairs are "us." It would make more sense to suspect long hair, and boycott rock. The movie we can ignore: Woodstock was made, not for those who wish they had been there, but for those who never would have dreamed of going.

As much equipment must have been trucked to the site to make the movie as to put on the festival. The color and sound are super-quality; the wide screen jumps from single to double to triple, and the sound sources can move with the image. But though rivaling the original in scale, technology and up-to-dateness, the film is, finally, only a remarkably straight and unsurprising documentary on an event which everyone in it keeps telling you is blowing *their* minds. You can take their word for it, as when someone else is stoned; but you can't get high on testimonials.

ON THE EVIDENCE, the festival was hip. It had a Movement City and even a Dope Supermarket (neither shown in the film). It barred cops and gave their job to the Hog Farm Commune, flown in from New Mexico, who also dispensed first-aid and brown rice. It assembled no less than nearly every noted rock band in the country. And—ultimate hipness—for all but the overcautious, it was free. The advance tickets were the only ones sold; the fences went down in the first hour of the festival, inspiring one of the film's two priceless moments—a fit of professional indignation by Bill Graham: "There are ways to do it. Find the control points on the highway—you gotta have some control! In South America, when they get those army ants, if they want to cut them off they dig a hole and make a flame."

Graham is the grandfather of the rock concert industry; Woodstock was the creation of a younger generation of promoters, two of whom appear in the film. They are not the pudgy corporation executives, sporting sideburns and bell-bottoms, that you would expect. Michael Lang, who takes all the credit, looks like a hard street-hippie and sounds less interested in making money than in making history. His soft friend, Arthur Kornfeld, is stoned throughout and keeps saying, "The important thing is people getting together." The pair is currently suing the two other partners for buying them out without telling them Warner Brothers was bidding for the film rights. Cotillion (Atlantic) is marketing the exclusive soundtrack album at $15 ($9 in discount stores). It had sold ten million copies as of July 1970. In fact, these enterprises bought the festival; the cries of "Rip-off!" come a trifle out of season.

They knew what to buy, but not what to do with it. The film lacks about half the heavy talent that was at the festival. It has Joe Cocker; Country Joe and the Fish; Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young; Jimi Hendrix; Santana; Sly and the Family Stone; and the Who. It doesn't have the Band; Blood, Sweat and Tears; Canned Heat; the Grateful Dead; the Jefferson Airplane and Janis Joplin; or Johnny Winter. The omissions, though apparently made less on musical than on sensational grounds, would be for-

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givable—if sometimes puzzling—if the film gave us anything like the sense of what it's actually like to be at a big rock festival.

WOODSTOCK shows us the event as it could only have been experienced by the stage manager. First we see the peaceful meadows, then the bulldozers, the construction, the immigration, the mighty throng, the main events in order, the dispersal, the debris. This synoptic history of America is interspersed with vignettes and interviews illustrating how different segments of the population are getting on, all shot from the stage or around the fringes of the crowd.

In the audience at an outdoor rock concert you lie drinking and smoking in quiet communion with your thousands of brothers and sisters, rocking with the sound that fills the air and makes the ground throb, and occasionally glancing at the stage, which is half a mile or so away. There is no sequence like that in the film. There is simply no sequence shot from inside the audience.

Director Wadleigh—whose other credits include shorts on Aretha Franklin, James Brown, Robert Kennedy, Eugene McCarthy and Richard Nixon—shoots the stars. Joe Cocker's spastic arms and feet, Roger Daltry's palpitating chest, Sly's three-foot silver fringe—all flash double and triple in your dazzled eyes for the duration of whole numbers—sometimes whole sets—unmistakably conveying the nature of the energy that hard rock stars (with mechanical aid) ram into their audience: they fuck the crowd.

A LOT IS written, especially in Rolling Stone, about the revolutionary message of rock lyrics, but where the words count is mostly in quiet music like the Beatles' or Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young's, whose haunting music and pessimistic lyrics the Woodstock crowd sits still for. But the mightiest roar in the film is roused by Joe Cocker, whose song (the Beatles' "A Little Help from Your Friends") has nothing in common with what he's doing.

Given this relationship between the performer and the public, along with the current state of sex roles, the total male domination of the rock scene is unsurprising, though the same conditions explain the wild response to the occasional female superstar like Janis Joplin or Tina Turner. The only female performers to appear in "Woodstock" are Joan Baez, who sings "Joe Hill" in a voice as beautiful as a mountain stream (and about as warm), and Sly and the Family Stone's black cornet player. But on those rare occasions when the camera turns (by telephoto lens) to the crowd, it focuses—you bet—on pretty girls in appealing stages of abandon.

This simple, amiable chauvinism (as contrasted with the bent, sadistic chauvinism of the British performers especially) is a fair sample of the film's simple, amiable fascism. Like Life magazine, in its special issue on the festival, Wadleigh takes as his theme the astonishing peacefulness of the enormous crowd. (He is franker than Life about one source of peace: the film may seriously be regarded as an editorial favoring legalized marijuana.) In the words of friendly farmer Max Yasgur, who leased his fields for only $50,000, as he addresses the kids on the last day of camp: "The important thing you've proven to the world is that a half a million young people can get together for three days of fun and music, and have nothing but fun and music." Then Jimi Hendrix plays the Star Spangled Banner.

The motif of patriotism is announced in an early shot of a painted hippie bus proclaiming, "Even God Loves America," and is rounded out with praise from an Eastern sage, the Swami Satchidananda (who is introduced in one of the nicest shots in the film: the camera travels over a mysterious grey mass which, when the famous smile is reached, turns out to be the famous beard): "America helps the whole world in the material field, but the time has come for America to help in the spiritual way also." Hear that, parents of the nation? "Woodstock" is a message to the older generation about how really nice these kids—despite their bizarre tastes in entertainment—can be, if only given what they want. What they want is shown to be not so threatening after all: a little skinnydipping, a little healthy rolling in the bushes, their

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marijuana (you actually see them smoke!) and music, music, music. A fuzzy-faced 17-year-old lays it down: "I don't want a mass change; I just want to—you know—be myself."

THE FILM breathes the Establishment's relief. It is clear at a number of points that a lot of fingers were crossed lest the industry find it had created a Frankenstein. "Stay cool now" is the message constantly reiterated through the festival's PA system. (Sample announcement: "There's a rumor circulating that the brown acid going around is poison. Cool it. It's *not poison*—it's just *badly manufactured.*")

The announcers' theme is amplified by those demigods of sanctioned deviance, the musicians. John Sebastian, formerly of the Loving Spoonful, smiles as tenderly as a preacher at a wedding. "Stay off the fence. The only way the press can't say any bad things is if there's no fuck-ups. I love you." (The Spoonful is well remembered in San Francisco for having beat a dope bust by turning in the friend who turned them on.) Arlo Guthrie flashes his disarming grin. "You bunch of people must be the strongest bunch of people in the world." Languid cheer. Sly and the Family Stone whip the crowd into a pacific fever with their audience participation number, "Higher": "Sing higher and throw the peace sign up—it can't do you no harm." Pan to the multitude: you can't see, but can feel, 450,000 V-signs, as seen from the performers' standpoint, which is hard to distinguish from the parents' and the producers'. Pan across 80 feet of stage and a million dollars' worth of sound equipment, the horizontal vastness dominated by a dozen 10-foot steel-frame lighting towers whose blinding lamps, now focused on the stage, could easily (we feel confident) be turned the other way in case of need. *There they are, half a million of them, and look—they're not going to hurt us.*

From this point of view, the question the film leaves us with is how to keep them there. In Rolling Stone's follow-up issue on Woodstock, Greil Marcus warns that the festival phenomenon is getting too big for independent producers to handle. He sug-

The 1967 Monterey International Pop Festival on Records · · · At Last.

TWO—well, a lot really—but two special performances we remember from those suspenseful but warm black nights.

Saturday night and the only man who could climax a whole day and evening of performances by the best rock and roll had to offer: Otis Redding. He was an awakening for most of us because we had been innocently white and black was Chubby Checker or Leadbelly or the Supremes, but not yet Memphis. And here, before all us long hair creeps, stood this giant physical singer in his cornball green glow suit. And he stood us up straight, because it was *Respect* and *Satisfaction* and *Shake* and *Try a Little Tenderness* and *I've Been Loving You Too Long* and we had never seen that kind of energy beaming from one person for so long.

We'd never had this before us on a stage. We'd never before been had so good. It was our first pro game.

They had to turn on the lights to put on the brakes that night. And walking out of the Fair Grounds in Monterey that night—past the fires in the trash cans and out into the mist—was like early high school when we'd just won the homecoming game and were world champs.

And then there was Sunday night, too.

A purple-dressed black man with a fuchsia boa, who played guitar with his teeth, behind his back, played it like a bedeviled yo-yo. Who dropped to his knees, sprayed Ronson lighter fluid on his guitar, and gadzooks lit it up.

That was discovering Jimi Hendrix when it was a new Experience, when we were really younger, even before Jimi went out as the supporting act to the Monkees.

And we were there as Jimi and Mitch and Noel drove us through *Rock Me, Baby* and *Can You See Me* and *Like a Rolling Stone* and *Wild Thing.*

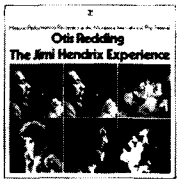
And it was our first honeymoon night with what we would later try to call an Aquarian Age.

Time has passed now. Our world has never since been so right.

It is wrong, though, to think of those light misty nights in 1967 Monterey as history. Until we heard those tapes played back recently, we feared innocence might trick our memory.

But no. Yes we were young and yes eager, with a blossoming awareness.

But they still are real, those nights. Thank you, Lou Adler, for recording it all, and with a fidelity incredible in its foreplanning.



Otis Redding/Jimi Hendrix Historic Performances Recorded at the Monterey International Pop Festival.

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Would you buy a used car from this man? (photo Nixon leering)	30x42
Pig (front view w/feet up)	30x42
Nixon on Toilet Paper Roll	21x28
Agnew on Toilet Paper Roll	21x28
Different Drummer (Thoreau quote)	23x35
I Do My Thing (Perl's Love Poem)	23x35
Pigs Making Love	22x28
Easy Rider (Fonda on bike)	30x42
Easy Rider (all 3 on bikes)	28x22
Hopper Giving You The Finger	23x35
Butch Cassidy & S. Kid (w/guns)	22x28
Robert Redford (S. Kid closeup)	22x28
The Beatles: Abbey Road	23x35
Beatles (group protrait)	23x29
Lennon & Ono (both in nude)	23x35
Ringo Starr (in tall hat)	29x40
Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young	29x22
Midnight Cowboy (Hoffman, Voight)	26x40
Jimi Hendrix (singing w/guitar)	42x30
Romeo & Juliet (movie love scene)	30x42
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gests that the record companies will have to take over (this was before it became known that Warner Brothers had). There was also a lot of talk about the government doing it. Subsequently, however, Altamont scared off the corporations and inspired the California Legislature to pass a law against outdoor rock festivals; the Nixon Administration is going in for less hip forms of repression. So far there have been riots where rock festivals were scheduled and didn't happen (for example in Grant Park, Chicago, where Sly's refusal to play, because the crowd was rowdy, precipitated a five-hour battle); there has yet been no certified case of a riot occurring because a rock festival wasn't scheduled.

FROM THE OPPOSITE point of view, the question is, What difference does it make? Long hair may frighten the repressed, but who besides the industry and Abbie Hoffman ever put the idea in *our* heads that rock fans constitute a revolutionary vanguard? The shining, happy faces of Woodstock are, almost to the 450,000th, white; the enormous means displayed have been lavished on the pacification of the young, free, affluent and fair. There is an interview sequence in the phone lines: everybody turns out to be calling their parents.

Among all the celebrants there is only one who doesn't fit—the star of the film's second priceless moment, a friendly older man in coveralls who is cleaning out the Port-o-San privies with a giant vacuum cleaner. To the interviewer's question, is he falling behind in his job, the man replies, "It ain't the idea of falling behind—you can't keep up, that's what it is."

Other crowds, in which those who can't keep up are more heavily represented, find ways of getting together that do not require the services of giant capital. One such crowd met Huey Newton on his release from prison. Huey's words were not that different from Arlo Guthrie's. "I'm weak," he said, speaking without a microphone, "but together we're strong." His 800 people answered louder than Arlo's 450,000.

—JOAN HOLDEN

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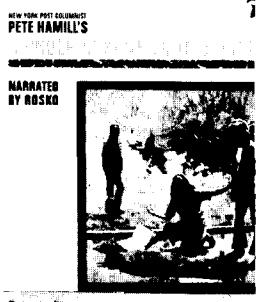
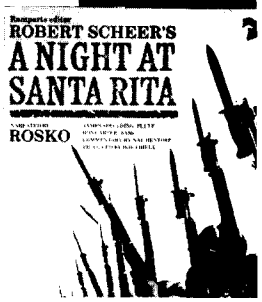


Robert Scheer, then an editor of **Ramparts,** spent **A Night At Santa Rita** after being busted at the People's Park confrontation and lived to tell the tale.

A NIGHT AT SANTA RITA/FDS—111



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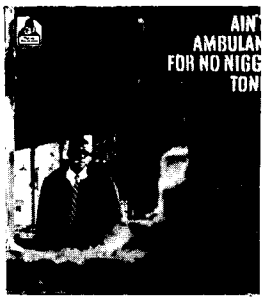

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